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THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL

(From the Earliest Times to the Muslim Conquest)

Vol. II.



BY

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To

Hon'ble Moulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq

Chief Minister of Bengal.

As a token of my deep respect for his untiring efforts for the educational uplift of the masses and the rural regeneration of the province.

A NOTE

The publication of this Second Volume completes the Early History of Bengal by Prof. P. L. Paul, M.A. It goes as the third number of the Indian History Series of the Indian Research Institute publications. It is expected that it will throw a flood of light on the obscure corners of the social, religious and cultural history of Ancient Bengal. It deals with dry topics in a lucid style and new materials have been digested and marshalled with accuracy and artistic skill. Properly speaking this being the first attempt of its kind, we expect it will stimulate further and more elaborate researches. Unfortunately, inspite of best efforts few discrepancies in diacritical marks and misprints have crept in, and they will be rectified in the next edition.

We earnestly hope that the scholars and lay readers alike will offer it the welcome it deserves.

Janmāṣṭamī Day.
Dated the 26th August, 1940.
THE INDIAN REASEARCH INSTITUTE,
Calcutta.

SATIS CHANDRA SEAL.

Errata list

Page I	Heading	Learning	for Learing
,, 4	line 15	omit	In before Dandin
,, 8	fn, 5	read	JBORS for JBOSB
,, 16	fn, 3	,,	Dr. B. Bhattacharyya for Dr. V. Bhattacharyya
,, 22	line 25	insert	a, before contemporary
,, 28	,, 16	read	priests for priest
,, 30	,, 8	,,	Yakṣas for Yokṣas
,, 48	,, 30	,,	Like for lkie
,, 88	,, 17	,,	Mahāsahasrapramardāne for Mahāsaharapramardāin
,, 96	fr. I	,,	JASB for SASB
,, 99	line 20	,,	at for as
,, 104	,, 22	,,	Viśvakarmāśāstra for Viśvakārma-satra
,, 105	,, 2	Insert	a after was
,, 106	,, 8	read	Kārtikeya for Kārikeya
,, 107	,, 10	Omit	As after vehicle
.. ..	fr. 3	read	ASIR for ARIR

Author's Preface

This is the first attempt to write the social, religious and cultural history of ancient Bengal on a comprehensive scale. I have spared no pains to make it thorough and exhaustive so far as materials at present permit.

I have endeavoured my best to interpret the history of ancient Bengal in all its phases. I shall consider my labour worth while if these two volumes help others to go deeper into the subject.

In the publication of this volume I must express my thankfulness to my friends and colleagues Profs. G. S. Ghar M. A. and P. R. Burua M. A. for going through the proofs and to Prof. K. C. Chakravarty M. A. and Mr. Chittaranjan Das B. A. for preparing the Index. My best thanks are due to Mr. Satis Chandra Seal M.A., B.L, Secretary of the Indian Research Institute, for publishing these two volumes under the auspices of the Institute.

5th June, 1940 P. L. Paul

List of Abbreviations

ASI	Archæological Survey of India (Cunningham)
ASIR	Archæological Survey of India, Reports
BI	Banglara Itihasa
BD. Icon.	Buddhist Iconography
BS.	Bengali San.
CHI	Cambridge History of India
CII	Corpus Inscriptionun Indica
DH	Dynastic History of Northern India
DM	Dacca Museum
DMC	Catalogue of the Dacca Museum
DMS	Dacca University Studies
EHI	Early History of India
EI	Epigraphia Indica
ESMS	Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculptures
GOS	Gaekwad Oriental Series
IA	Indian Antiquary
IB	Inscriptions of Bengal
IHQ	Indian Historical Quaterly
IM	Indian Museum.
JASB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JBTS	Journal of the Buddhistic Society
JDL	Journal of the Department of Letters

JIH	Journal of Indian History
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
MASB	Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
PHAI	Political History of Ancient India
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
SII	Southern Indian Inscriptions
SPP	Sahitya Parisat Patrika
VJI	Vangera Jatiya Itihasa
VRS	Varendra Research Society
VRSC	Varendra Research Society Catalogue
VRSM	Varendra Research Society Museum
VRSR	Varendra Research Society Reports
VSPC	Vangiya Sahitya Parisat Catalogue
VSPM	Vangiya Sahitya Parisat Museum.

Contents

APPENDICES

THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL

CHAPTER VIII

Literature, Learned Men and Centres of Learing

The task of writing the literary history of a particular province is in one way more difficult than that of ancient India as a whole. The question of settling the chronology is common to both. But as many authors are silent on their place of origin, it is sometimes hardly possible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion on that point. It is not unoften that in order to determine the nativity of an author, we have to rely on his cognomen, the popularity of his work in a certain locality and the provenance of the manuscripts. It is to be admitted by all that in the absence of some other stronger proof the claim of a particular locality or country on the above grounds rests on a very weak foundation. The fact being so, 'provincialism' is sometimes at work now-a-days in claiming the honour of adding many great writers of the ancient period to the native province of some modern writers. Kālidāsa has been claimed by many provinces[1] and the so-called 'internal evidence' has not helped much and on the very same ground a claim has been put forward for the Bengali origin of Viśākhadatta.[2] The *Vaidika* Brahmanas of Bengal regard Murāri, the author of *Anargha-Rāghava,* as one of their kinsmen, but this cannot be substantiated in any way.

Grammar—The science of grammar was cultivated assiduously. Candragomin, founder of the Cāndra school of grammar, seems to have belonged to Bengal. There were two other Candragomins. One was a logician and another appears to have been a Tāntrika scholar. These three Candragomins have been confused by Tārānātha[3] and by the

1. ABI, XIII, pp. 235 ff.
2. JABS, 1930, pp. 240 ff,
3. Tārānātha, pp. 148 ff, 159 ff.

author of *Pag-Sam-jon-zang.*[1] The grammarian Candragomin has been assigned to the period between 450-660 A.D.[2] and was a contemporary of Candrakīrti. There can be no doubt about the fact that he was the earliest, for the other two flourished in the 10th. century A.D.[3] It is definite that the grammarian Candragomin hailed from eastern India and he has been connected by a story with Varendra and Candradvīpa in Tibetan books. Later, the other two were also confused with him. He followed Pāṇini in many respects but he omitted Pāṇinian rules about Vedic grammar in order to make his work free from the "traditional Brahmanical element". The really original contributions of Candragomin amount to about 35 *sūtras*[4] and these have been borrowed by *Kāśikā* without acknowledgement. Most probably his work was popular with the Buddhists and it is still used in Tibet and in a modified form in Ceylon[5]. It was very popular in Java also[6].

It has been said that the Buddhist grammarian Jinendrabodhi, the author of *Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañjikā* or *Nyāsa,* may be looked upon as a native of Bengal or one who had lived and worked long in that province[7]. The utmost that can be said in the present state of our knowledge is that his work was extensively used and some commentaries were written on it in Bengal. Govardhana, Dāmodarasena and Indumitra are three grammarians who seem to have flourished in Bengal in the eleventh century[8]. Govardhana's *Uṇādivṛtti* is known only from quotations, and Dāmodarasena is the author of *Upādhyāya-sarvasva.*, Indumitra is known by his *Anu-nyāsa,* a commentary on *Nyāsa.* It has been suggested that Maitreya Rakṣita, the author of *Tantrapradīpa* and *Dhātupradīpa,* was a northern Bengali Brahmana but nothing can be said in support of this

1. S. C. Das, Pag-Sam-jon-zang, pp. 98, 139
2. Belvalkar, Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, p. 35.
3. S. C. Vidyabhusana, History of Indian Logic, pp. 333 336
4. Belvalkar, op. cit., pp. 59-60.
5. Ibid.
6. Journal of Greater India Society, Vol. III pp. 108 ff.
7. Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume, III, p. t. I pp. 194-197,
8. Ibid.

conjecture[1]. Puruṣottamadeva flourished in the 12th century and in his *Bhāṣāvṛtti* he depended on *Kāśikā* and *Nyāsa*. He was a Buddhist and excluded the texts appertaining to the Vedas. He simplified difficult grammatical rules in such a way as would make them easy to be understood by preliminary students of the subject, and his quotations and illustrations are to the point. Besides this great work, he is credited with the authorship of *Lalita-paribhāṣā, Jñānapāka-samuccaya, Uṇādivṛtti* and a commentary on *Mahābhāṣya*[2]. Sarṇadeva, another Buddhist grammarian, was the author of Durghaṭavṛtti. He was a younger contemporary of Puruṣottamadeva from whom he quoted extensively and was patronised by Lakṣmaṇasena[3].

Lexicography—Side by side with grammar, the science of lexicography was cultivated with equal zeal. The earliest writer seems to have been *Vandyaghāṭīya* Rāḍhīya Brahmana, Sarvānanda. He finished his *Ṭikāsarvasva*, a commentary on *Amarakoṣa* in 1159 A.D.[4]. Puruṣottamadeva's fame does not rest only on his grammatical works; as a lexicographer he is equally famous. His *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* is not a commentary but a supplement to *Amarakoṣa*. It adds the words that had come into use since Amara's time. Many new names of Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, Tāntrika gods and goddesses are to be found in it, which were not perhaps known to Amara[5]. He was not satisfied with writing a supplementary book but also wrote a separate book called *Hāralīlā*. It consists of 278 *Slokas* and in it are to be found words that were obsolete or were not in common use in his time. In the opinion of Mm. H. P. Sāstri[6] his chief title to greatness lies in the fact that he is said to have composed a separate lexicon on spelling. Spelling in Bengal was greatly influenced by *Prākṛta* and many words were capable of two spellings and double meanings. He laid stress on this aspect and his work was an example

1. Mr. D. C. Bhattacharyya wants us to believe that the name was Rakṣita Maitreya, and as Maitreya was the surname of a gāiṅ of northern Bengali Brahmanas he was a Vārendra. But it is in the least convincing. Ibid.
2. Ibid. 3. Ibid.
4. Published by Ganapati Shastri, Madras 1911, 1917
5. SPP, 1339, B. S. P. 1. 6. Ibid.

of accuracy and preciseness in spelling. Another Buddhist, Maheśvara[1] wrote a book on spelling in 1111 A.D..

Gauḍī-rīti—*Gauḍī-rīti* was one of the principal styles of poetic composition, the other important one being *Vaidarbhī*[2]. *Gauḍī* derived its name from the place of its origin and Daṇḍin calls it *paurastya*, i.e. eastern, and therefore there can be no doubt about the fact that it had its origin in Bengal. Bāṇabhaṭṭa informs us that the people of different places followed different poetic devices and the Gauḍas are fond of the display of bombastic words[3]. Bhāmaha (7th-8th cent.) distinguishes betwteen Vaidharbha and Gauḍa *Kāvyas*, though he does not use the term *rīti*[4]. He refers to the opinions of previous writers according to which there are differences of manner and treatment but he does not attach much importance to the difference[5]. In Daṇḍin's time (8th-9th) the difference was very wide and marked[6]. In Daṇḍin seems to be very severe in his condemnation of *Gauḍī* which is "loose, more often cumbrous and bombastic, is vitiated by an inordinate craze for verbal juggles and alliteration and casts to the winds clarity of expression and all sense of proportion and welcomes verbosity, pedantry and hyperbole[7]". But it is also clear from Daṇḍin that the Gauḍas laid great stress on *ojas*[8] and attempted at *arthavyakti*[9] i.e., explicitness of meaning. Vāmana (9th A.D.), who follows Daṇḍin, admits that *Gauḍī* has two *guṇas*, *ojas* and *kānti*, but is wanting in *mādhurya* and *saukumārya* (tenderness) and is full of harsh-sounding words. Rudraṭa (9th) says that in *Gauḍī* compounds are formed by as many words

1. Ibid. 2. The minor two are Pāñcālī and Lāṭī
3. Harṣacarita Sl. 7
4. S. K. De, History of Sanskrit Poetics II pp. 100 ff; we follow the dates of the writers on rītis as determined by Dr. De. 5. 1, 31-35.
6. Jacobi holds that the Vaidarbhī style which came into existence in the third century A. D. was a reaction against the older and more ornate Gauḍī (Mahārāṣṭrī pp XVI): Dr. Nobel also holds that the Gauḍī was earlier (Foundations of Indian Poetics, Ch. VI). But Dr. S. K. De maintains that Gauḍī is a sign of further development or decadence (History of Sanskrit Poetics, II, p. 116 n).
7. IHQ. III, pp. 377-78. 8. 1, 80. 9. 1, 75

as possible. Rājaśekhara (10th) takes the *rītis* as forms of speech without further explaining them, and Mammaṭa considers them repetition of the same consonants. Thus the *rītis* lost their importance as given by Daṇḍin[1].

It is not to be supposed that Gauḍī was used only in the land of its origin or eastern India. The Mandasor inscription of Yāśodharman, Haraha inscription of Īśānavarman and Nālandā inscription of the time of Yaśovarman were written in this style. Bhavabhūti, Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa, Murāri, Kṣemīśvara, Sandhyākaranandī and Śrīharṣa followed this style, and therefore it seems that different authors chose their style according to their convenience and predilections. The poetry portions of the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman and of the Tippera plate of Lokanātha and of the Pāla and Sena inscriptions were written in this style which was evidently suited for *praśastis*.

Medical literature—In ancient India importance of the medical science was realised, as *Āyurveda* or the Science of Longevity was called an *Upa-Veda*. Yuan Chwang tells us that great stress was laid on it in the Nālandā monastery[2]. The *Tāntrikas* were expected to have minute knowledge of human anatomy and physiognomy, as they tried to control the senses by regulating breathing and by some process of physical exercises. Mādhavakara, author of *Rug-viniścaya,* or *Nidāna,* which enjoyed all India popularity and was translated into Arabic for the Caliphs of Bagdad in the latter half of the 8th century, has been claimed to be a Bengalee on the grounds that (a) his cognomen was " Kara ", (b) his book was extensively used in Bengal and (c) many Bengali words occur in another of his works, *Paryāya-ratnamālā*[3]. But it has been questioned in the absence of stronger proofs[4]. We are, however, on surer grounds in case of Cakrapāṇidatta. He came of a celebrated family of physicians. His father Nārāyaṇa was the superintendent of the culiniary department of the Pāla king, Nayapāla, and seems to be identical with the author of *Ratnamālā,* a medical vocabulary, and with Nārāyaṇa

1. Dr. Nobel, Foundations of Indian Poetry pp. 124-5
2. Beal, Records, pp. 77-79 ; Life, p. 112
3. IC, III, pp. 153-156 4. Ibid, I, pp. 273-4

Kavirâja who has been quoted in the *Saduktikarṇâmṛta*[1]. Cakrapâṇi's brother Bhânu has been called an *antaraṅga* which means a physician of a high family[2]. Çakrapâṇi was a prolific medical writer. His famous work, *Cakradatta,* was written on the model of a previous work, *Siddha-Yoga* of Vṛnda, and was meant for medical practitioners. It was very ably commented on by Sivadâsasena of the Pabna district in the 16th century. His *Dravya-guṇa-Saṁgraha* is a glossary of medical drugs and *Sabda-candrikâ* is a vocabulary of vegetables and mineral substances. Besides, Cakrapâṇi is credited with the authorship of the *Bhānumatī* and *Āyurveda-dīpikā* which were meant to elucidate the *saṁhitās* of Suśruta and Caraka[3].

We know of another family of celebrated physicians who served in many courts. Bhadreśvara was the physician of Râmapâla. His grandfather, Devagaṇa, served in that capacity to Govindacandra who may be identified with the king of that name known from the Tirumalai inscription. Sureśvara, son of Bhadreśvara, was the important man of this family and was the physician of Bhīmapāla, described as *Pādīśvara*[4] (lord of Pādī) who cannot be satisfactorily identified. He composed a dictionary on medical botany, called *Sabdapradīpa,* and another work on medical use of iron, called *Loha-paddhati.* Another medical writer called Gadādhara-vaidya in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* may be identified with Gadādhara, a commentator of Suśruta[5]. Vaṅgasena, the reputed author of *Cikitsā-sāra-saṁgraha,* was born in the house of Gadādhara and was an inhabitant of *Kāñjikā*[6]. According to Hœrnle[7], his work was a compilation from different medical writers, although he himself declares at the end that his work is a new recension of a previous one, named *Agastya-Saṁhitā.* Hemādri in his commentary on *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* of Vâgbhaṭa II quotes extensively from Vaṅgasena who can therefore be

1. For the first time suggested by Mr. N. N. Dasgupta, IC, III, p. 156
2. IC, I. p. 684 3. IC, III, pp. 156-58
4. Eggeling, Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the India office Library, 1896, Pt. V, pp. 994-5. 5. IC, III, pp. 157 ff.
6. Ibid.; also, IV, p. 109. 7. JASB, 1891, p. 183.

placed in the 12th-13th century[1]. The commentaries of Aruṇadatta, Vijayarakṣita, Niścalakara and Śrīkaṇṭha gained great popularity in Bengal but it is not certain whether they were Bengalees[2].

An interesting work on the taming and treatment of elephants has been ascribed to one Pālakāpya, son of the sage Lomaśa. It is written in *Sūtra* style and Mm. H. P. Shastri assigned it to a period before the Christian Era[3], and it was composed where " the Brahmaputra flows and the Himalaya is in the north ". Strictly speaking, it was written in Assam. The Pāla kings were strong in elephants and they were a great dread to the other contemporary dynasties. It is therefore quite likely that the science of taming and treating elephants was cultivated in Bengal.

Astronomy—The astronomer Mallikārjuna Sūri hailed from Vaṅga and flourished in the 12th century. He wrote a commentary on *Śiṣyadhī-mahātantra* by Lallācārya and no other commentary on this is known. He also seems to be the earliest commentator on *Sūryasiddhānta*. He was of the *Kaundinya gotra* but his name *Sūri* and proficiency in astronomy suggest that his family might originally have been Jaina. It is to be noted that he invokes Viṣṇu and Gaṇeśa in his works and his grand-father was an *ācārya*. (SPP, 1340 pp. 83 ff.).

Philosophy—Various branches of philosophy were cultivated. Acording to Sureśvarācārya[4], the Vedantic work *Gauḍapāda-kārikā* embodied the view of the Gauḍas. It is admitted by all that it is a very old work[5]. Udayanācārya refers to a Gauḍa *Mīmāṁsaka* and his commentator Varadarāja says that it refers to *Pañjikā-kāra*. Therefore Śalikanātha, author of *Pañjikā*, seems to have been a Bengalee[6]. Śrīdharadāsa, author of *Nyāya-kandalī*, hailed from Bhūriśreṣṭhī (in the Hoogly district) in Rāḍha and composed his work in 913 S.E. under the patronage of a local *Kāyastha* chief, Pāṇḍudāsa by name. In his *Nyāyakandalī* there is reference to Śalikanātha and also there are re-

1. IC, III, pp. 535 ff.
2. Ibid, III, pp. 159-160 ; also IV, p. 275.
3. JBORS, 1919, pp. 307 ff.
4. Naiṣkarmya-siddhi, IV. 41-44
5. IA, 1929, pp. 203-4 ; Belvalkar and Ranade, Hist. of Ind. Philosophy, II, p, 963.
6. IA, 1929, p. 202.

ferences to two of his own works, *Advayasiddhi* and *Tattva-bodha-saṁgraha-ṭikā,* none of which is known from any other source. The *Nyāyakandalī* was much used outside Bengal and commented on by non-Bengalee authors[1]. The *Tautātita-matatilaka* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, minister of Harivarmadeva, was a gloss on Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's *Tantravārtika.* Halāyuddha, a judge of Lakṣmaṇasena's court, wrote a work on *Mīmāṁsā,* called *Mīmāṁsā-sarvasva,* which is a running commentary on the *sūtras* of Jaiminī[2]. It has been argued by some writers[3] that Śrīharṣa enjoyed the patronage of Vijayasena in the early part of his career, but in his philosophical work *Khaṇḍana-Khaṇḍa-Khādya* (in which he criticises the main schools of Indian philosophy) he says that he was honoured by a Kānyakuvja king. Therefore this work does not seem to be a production of Bengal.

Smṛti and ritualistic literature—The first Smṛti-writer of note is Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva. His *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati,* also known as *Daśakarma-paddhati,* gives detailed description of the purifying ceremonies of marriage and domestic ceremonies to be performed by the Brahmanas in accordance with the *Chāndogya* schools of the Sāmaveda. This work is very important for the *Rāḍhiya* and *Vārendra* Brahmanas, most of whom belong to the *Kauthuma-śākhā* of the Sāmaveda. His *Prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇa* deals with sins and modes of their expiation. Murder of men, women and animals is called great crimes. Other crimes are the taking of forbidden food and drink, thefts, sexual intercourse with forbidden persons, forbidden marriages, sale of forbidden goods and contact with untouchables[4]. Govindarāja, son of Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, wrote a commentary on *Manusaṁhitā* and the manuscript was copied in 1145 A.D. It seems to be a "comprehensive compilation of domestic and social regulations for the Brahmanas of Bengal."[5]

Traditionally Jīmūtavāhana is known as *amātya* and *prāḍvivekа* of Vijayasena[6]. He is styled in the colophons *Parībhādrīya Mahāmahopādhyāya* or *Paribhādra-kulāvadhūta.* Paribhadra is the Pari *gāiñ* of the *Rāḍhiya* Brahmanas. Mr. M. Chakravarti[7] draws

1. IC, IV, p. 276.
2. JASB, 1915, p. 328. 3. IC, II. pp. 576 ff. See infra.
4. JASB, 1912, pp. 335 ff. 5. JBORB, V, p. 173.
6. Dhākāra Itihāsa, II, p. 334. 7. JASB, 1915, p. 321.

attention to the fact that in his *Kāla-viveka* 'Rāḍha is mentioned along with Ujjayinī and suuggests that he was referring to his home-land. The same scholar after a detailed examination of all literary references has come to the conclusion that Jīmūtavāhana is to be placed in the beginning of the 12th century. His *Kāla-viveka* deals with appropriate months and seasons for religious duties and festivals. The *Dharmasūtras, Purāṇas* and Brahmagupta and Varāhamihira are cited as authorities. The *Vyavahāra-mātṛkā* deals with legal procedure in the court of justice and the nature of evidence. It is interesting to note that oral evidence, written documents, possession, and inference constitute various kinds of evidence, while trials by ordeals have no place in this book. "Like the *Kāla-viveka,* it is full of quotations, some six hundred in number." This fact alone shows Jīmūtavāhana's wide study and learning. His chief title to fame rests on the *Dāya-bhāga* which is the leading authority of the Bengal school of law and still determines the succession and inheritance of the Hindus of Bengal. "The *Dāya-bhāga* enunciates considerably advanced ideas of law on inheritance and partition, and displays an acute intelligence, a wide grasp of the subject and a skill in marshalling authorities in favour of its view."

Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa was the preceptor of Vallālasena and composed two works on rituals, namely, *Suddhi-viveka* and *Hāralatā*[1]. It was at his instance that *Dānasāgara* was compiled by his royal disciple, which deals with various kinds of gifts and ceremonies connected therewith. The composition of the *Adbhutasāgara* is also ascribed to Vallālasena and it deals with omens and portents.

Halāyudha, a judge of Lakṣmaṇasena, was a prolific writer on *Smṛti.* His father Dhanañjaya was also a judge and he himself was at first a *rāja-paṇḍita, mahāmātra* and finally a *dharmādhikāra.* In some of the introductory verses and final colophons he styles himself *'āvasathika'*. If *āvasathika* is a mistake for *āvallika,* he may be identified with *āvallika paṇḍita* Halāyudha of the Vātsya *gotra,* one of the donees of the Sāhitya Pariṣat plate of Viśvarūpasena[2]. His mother belonged to the *Gochasaṇḍi Kula* (identifiable with *Gocaṇḍī*

1. JASB, 1906, p. 158.   2. The suggestion that āvasathika is a mistake for āvantika is unwarranted. IC, I. pp. 502-6.

gāiñ of the *Vārendra* Brahmanas of the *Bharadvāja gotra).* It may be that his father was also a *Vārendra*[1]. Of all his works, *Brāhmaṇa Sarvasva* is the best known. It deals with the daily rites and periodical *ācāras* of the Brahmanas. He has explained the rites and ceremonies of the Brahmanas in the light of the *Mantra-bhāṣya* of Uvaṭa and the *Gṛhya-mantra-bhāsya* of Guṇaviṣṇu. This work was meant for the Brahmanas of the *Vājasaneyī Kāṇvaśākhā.* Besides, he is credited with the authorship of the *Vaiṣṇava-sarvasva, Saiva-sarvasva* and *Paṇḍita-sarvasva.* His two elder brothers, Paśupati and Īśāna, also composed several books. In the *Daśakarma-paddhati,* Paśupati is called *Rājapaṇḍita* and it deals with the ten domestic ceremonies according to the *Sukla-Yajurveda.* Paśupati also wrote *Srāddha-kṛtya-paddhati* and *Pāka-yajña-paddhati. Īśāna* is said to have written a book on rites relating to the *āhnika* of the Brahmanas, called *Dvij-āhnika-paddhati*[2].

Kāvya—Tradition connects Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa, the author of *Veṇīsaṁhāra,* with Ādiśūra, but this is not corroborated from any other source. Mention may be made here of one Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa of Uttara-Rāḍha, belonging to the *Vātsya gotra.* His son emigrated to Orissa where he figures as a donee of a grant of the eighth century[3]. But it is to be noted that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa connected with Ādiśūra was of the *Sāṇḍilya gotra.*

A strong case has been made for regarding Abhinanda, the author of *Rāmacarita,* as a writer who enjoyed the patronage of a Pāla prince named Hāravarṣa belonging to the family of Vikramaśīla[4]. As Vikramaśīla was another name of Dharmapāla, the suggestion of identifying Hāravarṣa with Devapāla is reasonable, though this is not corroborated from any other source. Abhinanda who enjoyed an all India fame and has been compared with Kālidāsa[5] must have produced a work of high poetic merit like *Rāmacarita.* But it must be noted that most of the verses attributed to Abhinanda in the anthologies cannot be traced in *Rāmacarita* and only a few are traceable[6]. Either Abhinanda composed other works or some other verses which

1. Ibid. 2. JASB, 1906, pp. 158A. 3. EI, XXIII, p. 74,
4. Introduction, Rāmacarita published in GOS.
5. Ibid, 6. Ibid.

are not yet known, or there was another Abhinanda. It is also to be noted that in the anthologies Abhinanda is occasionally called *Gauḍābhinanda*. The father of the author of *Rāmacarita* was Śatānanda, and it is a significant fact that some verses have been attributed to one Śatānanda in *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, and they either precede or follow those attributed to Abhinanda. It is his father's name that enables us to distinguish him from another Abhinanda, son of Jayantabhaṭṭa, and the author of *Kādambarī-kathā-sāra and Yagavāsiṣṭha-śāra*. The family of the latter originally belonged to Gauḍa but migrated to, and settled, in Kāśmīra six generations earlier[1]. His grandfather Śaktivarman was the minister of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa and his father Jayantabhaṭṭa was the author of *Nyāyamañjarī*. The author of *Rāmcarita* and the author of *Kādambarīkathā-sāra* belonged to the same time. *Rāmacarita* fulfils all the tests of a *Mahākāvya* and is written in the *Vaidarbhī-rīti*. It seems that Abhinanda ended his work with the 36th canto, and three other cantos have been added later.

Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacarita*[2] is a unique historical work. It is written in double *en tendre*. In one way it gives the story of the recovery of Sītā by Rāma and in another way it narrates the story of the recovery of Varendra by Rāmapāla from the Kaivarta chief Bhīma. Most of the words used are capable of two meanings and the author has been called "not only a poet but also a linguist." It is very difficult to understand the verses without the commentary which only comes upto the first canto and 36 verses of the second.

The Sena period has been called the *Augustan Age* of Sanskrit literature in Bengal[3]. The Sena kings lavishly patronised the scholars, and in *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* many verses are attributed to Lakṣmaṇasena, Keśavasena, Viśvarūpasena and Mādhavasena; and Vallālasena himself was a reputed author. The Sena court resembled Dhārā under Paramāra Bhoja, and ancient Ujjayinī. The outburst of Brahmanical learning made itself felt in two directions—in ritualistic works and in the production of *Kāvyas*. Śrīharṣa, the author of *Naiṣadhīya*, is said to have enjoyed at first the patronage of Vijayasena. It has been suggested that this book has got some covert allu-

1. Ibid. 2. Published in MASB, III, pt. I
3. JASB, 1906, p. 157.

sion in it to the Sena dynasty[1]. It deals with the story of Nala and Damayantī, and Nala is described as the son of Vīrasena. It is known from the Sena inscriptions that Vīrasena of Puranic celebrity was the remote ancestor of the Senas. It may be noted in this connection that the Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī, queen of Jayacandra, was composed by Śrī-Kunda, a friend of the king of Vaṇga. In *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍ-khādya* it is said that he was honoured by the Kānyakubja king Jayacandra. In the above inscription Śrī-kunda has been decsribed as a " lion to attack the crowds of the elephant like heretics, and as a Rohaṇa mountain of the flashing jewels of poetical composition[2]". If this has any reference to the above philosophical work and to *Naiṣadhiya,* Śrī-Kunda may be identified with Śrī-Harṣa, though this does not prove his Bengali origin.

Umāpatidhara, the composer of the Deopara *praśasti* of Vijayasena, is quoted extensively in *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* and hundred verses have been attributed to him[3]. Referring to himself, the poet says that "his understanding has been purified by the study of words and their meanings" and this is amply proved even from this *praśasti.* Jayadeva is said to have criticised his fellow-poets of Lakṣmaṇasena's court thus[4]—"Umāpati is verbose in style, but devoid of sweet words. Saraṇa has the merit of composing poems within a short time but his verses are very difficult to be understood. Govardhana is expert in erotic compositions. Dhoyī could remember what he heard but is vain." In *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* many verses have been quoted under Saraṇadeva and Cirantana-śaraṇa all of whom according to Mr. M. Chakravarti,[5] refer to the same man. The poet Saraṇa has been identified with the grammarian of the same name[6]. Ācārya Govardhana is known by his *Āryā-saptaśatī* which is full of erotic sentiment.

1. IC, II, 578-9. 2. EI. IX, pp. 323 ff.
3. JASB, 1906, p. 159 ff.
4. Then he praises himself with the remark that Jayadeva alone possesses all the merits of a good poet. I think this verse about his fellow poets and himself is a later interpolation, though it brings into prominence the characteristics of the five poets.
5. JASB, 1906. pp. 173 ff.
6. S. C. Chakravarty. Intro. Durghaṭavṛtti, p. 7.

Pavanadūtam of Dhoyī is a *dūta kāvya* and has been written in imitation of *Meghadūta* from which expressions have been sometimes borrowed. In spite of this, he exhibits a good deal of poetic skill. He wrote in an elegant and easy-going language and his descriptions are sometimes "vivid, lifelike and full of pathos.[1]" Of all the authors of Bengal Jayadeva is the best known. He was born at Kendubilva in the modern Birbhum district. His *Gīta-govinda* is one of the most popular books ever written in Sanskrit language. It is very sacred to the Vaiṣṇavas. There are very few hearts from which its sweet melody does not get response, and Jayadeva is known as the nightingale of Sanskrit poets.

Besides these, there are many authors like Udayana, Yogeśvara, Bālabhadra, Madhu *(dharmādhikāra)*, Vetāla, Vyāsa (Kavirāja) whose verses in praise of the king of Gauḍa or Vaṭudāsa, (the father of the anthologist) have been quoted in *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*[2] They were either poets of Bengal or connected with the Gauḍa court. This anthology deserves more than a passing notice. The work was finished in 1205 A.D.. Vaṭudāsa is called a *mahāsāmanta-cūḍāmaṇi* and a friend of Lakṣmaṇasena, and Śrī-dharadāsa was a *mahāmāṇḍalika*. The work contains the names of more than 450 authors and " bears ample testimony to his taste and industry..... the authors have been fairly selected and sorted under different subjects; and they bespeak a fairly wide culture with formation of libraries[3]".

The above account, incomplete as it is, is sufficient to indicate the extent and nature of the Brahmanical culture in various branches. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*[4] twice refers to the extreme popularity of Sanskrit in Gauḍa. From the foreign accounts and epigraphic records we can trace the following centres of learning in different parts of Bengal.

In Rāḍha—Fa-hein speaks of Tāmralipti as an important centre of learning. There he lived two years in copying manuscripts. Yuan Chwang was very much impressed by the love of learning of

1. C. Chakravarti, Pavanadūtam, Intro., p. 12.
2. Published by H. D. Sharma ; see also JASB, 1906, pp. 157 ff.
3. Ibid., p. 175. 4. Pp. 31, 51.

five capital towns of Bengal that he visited. It-sing learnt the *Brahma* language and science of grammar at Tāmralipti and describes in detail the organisation and working of Bhā-rā-hā monastery there. It is thus clear that Tāmralipti was an important centre of learning in the Gupta and post–Gupta periods.

Bhuriśreṣṭha where *Nyāyakandalī* of Śrīdharācārya was composed was in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha and it is identified with the Bhursut *parganā* in the Hoogly district. It seems to have been a famous seat of learning. Kṛṣṇa Miśra in his *Prabodha-candrodaya* (it was dramatised in the court of the Candella king Kīrtivarman c. 1065 A.D.) caricatured the pride of Gauḍa philosophers thus, "Gauḍa kingdom is the best; in that the town of Rāḍha is above all comparison; the residence of Bhuriśreṣṭhaka is excellent; there my father is best[1]." It is known from an inscription[2] in the temple at Mandhata in the Central Provinces that Halāyudha, an emigrant from Navagrāma in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha, composed 64 verses of that record, dated in 1130 V.E. There exists a village named Navagrāma in the *parganā* of Bhursut[3].

Siddhala, home of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, is in the Birbhum district, and in the Bhuvaneśvar *praśasti* an account of his seven ancestors has been given. The village itself has been described as an ornament of Uttara-Rāḍha and a pride of Āryāvarta. All his ancestors were learned men. His seventh ascendant was the recipient of a *śāsana* of the village Hastinībhaṭṭa from a Gauḍa king, and his grandfather Ādideva was a minister of a Vaṅga king and he himself a *Sāndhivigrahika* of Harivarmadeva. His extant works have already been noted. In the panegyric he is described as 'omniscient'. "Having seen the other shore of the sea of *Siddhānta, Tantra* and

1. Prabodha-candrodaya, Canto II.

2. Hiralal, Inscriptions of C. P. and Berar., p. 84.

3. IC, I, p. 503. Mr. J. C. Ghose refers the date to the Śaka era but without any reason. He is also inclined to regard the three donees of the Mandhata plates of Devapāla and Jayavarman, dated in 1260-61 A. D. as emigrants from Bengal. One of them was an emigrant from Navagrāma, another from Tarkāri and the other from Ghatanshari. It is not unlikely that a batch of Bengal Brahmanas emigrated to C. P. after the fall of Nadia.

Gaṇita, producing world-wide wonder in *Phala-Saṁhitās*, the maker and proclaimer of a new *Horāśāstra*, he became manifest as another Varāha (v.21). In the paths of *Dharma-śāstra*, by composing good treatises he blended old productions. By good glosses elucidating the *Dharmagāthās* of sages, he wiped away doubt on points of legal acts (v.22). In *Mīmāṁsā* he composed, following the sayings of Bhaṭṭa, a guide in which thousands of maxims etc., etc....." (v.23).

In Varendra—The Garuḍa pillar inscription introduces us to a *Sāṇḍilya* family of hereditary ministers of the Pālas. Their political activity has already been noted but their learning also finds a conspicuous mention in this record. Darbhapāṇi was a master of four *vidyās* (most probably the four Vedas) and so also his son Kedārmiśra. Gurava Miśra, minister of Nārāyaṇapāla, was proficient in many subjects, viz., in *Āgamas* (sacred lore), *Jyotiṣa* (astronomy) and in Vedas. He semes to have composed a book on *Srutis* (v.24). He was a keen fighter in assembly as well as in the battle-field. The Silimpur *praśasti*[1] of Prahāsa supplies us with the information of the existence of a learned *Bharadvāja* family and of some villages and localities where Brahmanical learning and rites were in a flourishing condition. The family originally lived in Tarkāri within the limits of Srāvasti[2] and migrated to Bālagrāma in Varendra in the Puṇḍra country and again to an adjacent village named Siyāmbaka. All these places were abodes of learned Brahmanas and Vedic rites and homas were zealously performed. Palæographically Prahāsa may be assigned to the eleventh century and his grandfather Taponidhi attained perfection in the doctrines of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. His father Kārtikeya was proficient in *Mīmāṁsā*, *Srutis* and *Smṛtis*. Prahāsa himself was learned in logic, *Tantras*, and *Dharmaśāstras*. The king Jayapāla of Kāmarūpa tried to induce him to emigrate to that country with the promise of a gift of 900 gold coins and a grant of land yielding an annual income of 1000 coins. This offer was refused. He set up an image of Varāha and absorbed himself in pious and charitable activities. In his old age he retired on the bank of the Ganges.

1. EI, XIII, p. 283.
For location see supra.

BUDDHIST LITERATURE

Mm. H. P. Shastri[1] classified the literature of the Pâla period under four headings—(1) Sanskrit Brahmanic, (2) Sanskrit Buddhist (3) Vernacular Brahmanic[2] and (4) Vernacular Buddhist Literature. Though we cannot strictly follow this classification, it has got the merit of bringing into prominence the huge mass of Buddhist literature that was produced in the Pâla period. The later Buddhist literature has not yet been adequately studied, and we are not in possession of all the materials. Sometimes discoveries of some important books are announced from Nepal libraries. Many of the books are preserved in the *Bstan-hgyur* some of whose originals seem to have been lost. In studying this vast literature scientifically, there are various difficulties, some of which cannot be at present solved.

The later Buddhist literature is generally *Tantric* in character. Five important centres of Tantrikism were Kâmakhyā, Srīhaṭṭa, Pūrṇagiri, Uḍḍīyāna and Zāhore. The first two are well-known places, and it is to be mentioned that Srīhaṭṭa or Sylhet, though at present included in Assam, is linguistically and culturally a part of Bengal. Purṇagiri cannot be located. The last two localities are frequently mentioned as important centres of Buddhist Tantrikism and there is considerable disagreement among scholars about the location of Uḍḍīyāna and Zāhore. Uḍḍīyāna[3] has been sought to be located in in Swat valley, Kasgarh, Orissa, on the north-east fringe of Bengal and in the Chittagong region; and Zāhore[4] has been identified with Mandi in the Panjab, Lahore, Jessore, Sabhar in Dacca and Sahore in Rāḍha. It is difficult to accept any one of these suggestions in the absence of definite evidence. Apart from the consideration that the stronghold of Tantrik Buddhism was in eastern India, the sug-

1. JBORS, V, p. 171.

2. Mm. H. P. Shastri could not mention any book of this class, though he asserted that there was such a class of literature, Ibid.

3. IHQ, VI, pp. 576ff; Dr. M. Bhattacharyya, Sādhadāmāitā (GOS) intro. pp. xxxii-xxxix; IHO, XI, p. 142.

4. Le Nepa, II, p. 177; Francke, Antiquities of Indian Tibet, II, p. 87 Sādhanā-mālā, Intro., pp. xvxvii-xxxviii; IHQ, XI p. 144

gestion to locate Uḍḍīyāna in Bengal gains additional support from the simple fact that while Lui-pāda, Sarahā, Advaya-vajra and Tailaka-pāda havé been described as of Uḍḍīyāna, they have been again called natives of Bangala[1] (Vaṅgāla ?). Again, Śāntarakṣita has been described as a scion of the royal family of Zahore. But according to the *Pag-sam-jon-zang*, he was born in Bangala.[2] This can be satisfied by locating Uḍḍiyāna and Zāhore in Bengal or by the supposition that there were two sets of Tantric scholars bearing the above names—a contention not easily to be conceded without strong proof. Another difficulty that confronts us is the settling of the chronology of the authors. Information on this point comes from Tārānātha, Bu-ston and the *Pag-sam-jon-zang* whose chronologies and genealogies are admittedly faulty and inaccurate, and therefore these Tibetan authorities cannot be much relied on. In order to fix the time of the Tantric authors attempt should rather be made from some definite known dates, say from Śāntarakṣita and disciples (*guru-paramparās*) as preserved by the Bstan--hgyur and the *Pag-sam-jon-zang* are to be utilised with the caution[3] that, "the mystics still believe that the *Siddhas* do not die..........such alleged relation only speaks of a spiritual connection and not of any historical one." The confusion of their chronology is worse confounded by the fact that many scholars of different periods bear the same name. There were at least three Candragomins,[4] three Nāgārjunas,[5] two Lui-pās[6] and two Śāntidevas.[7] I have got no doubt about the fact that there are many such cases of confusion in the Tibetan accounts. The apparent inconsistency and confusion in the Tibetan books cannot be solved until and unless the separate identity of different

1. IHQ XI pp. 141-3
2. Ibid. pp. 142-43.
3. Sādhanamālā Intro. p. xl xli Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya. Intro. pp. 25 26
4. History of Indian Logic pp. 333 336
5. Sādhanamālā, Intro., p. XIV ; JASB, 1930, pp. 142 ff
6. Lui-pā who has been identified with Matsyendranātha cannot be the same person to whom Śāntarakṣita refers; former seems to have flourished in the 10th century, while the latter in the 8th.
7. Śāntideva, the author of the Śikṣā-Samuccaya, (whose latest possi ble date is the 8th century) cannot be identified with Śāntideva, disciple of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna of the 11th century

scholars of different periods can be definitely established. This perhaps explains also why a great many books have been attributed to a single author in the *Bstan-hgyur.* The numbers come sometimes to thirty or even to forty, and it may be that they are not the productions of one author. But it must also be said that we need not be surprised by these numbers, for twenty works of Advayavajra, when published,[1] contain only about sixty pages.

The earliest known Buddhist author seems to be the grammarian Candragomin. *Siṣya-lekha-dharma,* an epistle in *Kāvya* style, which has been addressed to the pupils, propounding Buddhist doctrines, is also attributed to him.[2]

Sīlabhadra, the preceptor of Yuan Chwang, was a scion of the Brahmanical royal family of Samataṭa. He enjoys a unique position in the Buddhist world as one of the celebrated heads of the Nālandā University. He was a disciple of Dharmapāla and is said to have defeated a learned Brahman from southern India in a discussion and the local king (most probably of Magadha) was so much satisfied with his victory that he made an offer of a city to Sīlabhadra which he reluctantly accepted, as it was opposed to the spirit of the Holy Master's teaching. He made a religious offering of the city and built a monastery there. The Chinese pilgrim and disciple pays eloquent tribute to his learning and liberality and says that he wrote several treatises.[3] "He rose to be eminent for his principles and subtleties and his fame extended to foreign countries." A work entitled *Ārya-Buddha-bhūmi-vyākhyā,* preserved in the *Bstan-hgyur,* has been attributed to one Sīlabhadra.

Sarahā is said to have belonged to Uḍḍiyāna[4] but according to *Pag-sam-jon-zang,* he hailed from Bangala.[5] He was also known as Sarahabhadra and Rāhulabhadra and was one of the earliest *Tāntrika*

1. GOS, No. XL. Edited by Mm. H. P. Shastri.
2. Nariman, Lit. Hist. of Sans. Buddhism, p. 100.
3. Watters, II, pp. 105, 109.
4. Cordier, II, p. 375.
5. Index, p. cxxi.

Buddhist scholars. He was equally learned in Brahmanical and Buddhist lore and has been assigned to the seventh century.[1] In the *Bstan-hgyur* twenty-one books are attributed to him.

Sabarīpa or Sabarīśvara came of a Sabara (huntsmen) tribe in Bangala and was a disciple of the Tantrika Nāgārjuna. He has been assigned to the seventh century and a *Sādhana* of Kurukullā in *Sādhanamālā* is attributed to him.[2] Some of his vernacular songs are known.[3]

Lui-pāda, according to the *Pag-sam-jon-zang*,[4] hailed from Uḍḍiyāna but in the *Bstan-hgyur* it is mentioned that he belonged to Bangala.[5] He came of the fisherman caste. He is said to have been the first *Siddhācārya* and has been assigned to the seventh century.[6] In the *Bstan-hgyur* five works on Tantrika Buddhism are attributed to him. Some of his vernacular songs have been published.[7]

Nāgabodhi was born in Varendra and was the disciple of Nāgārjuna who has been assigned to the 7th century.[7] The authorship of thirteen works is ascribed to him in the *Bstan-hgyur*.

The *Pag-sam-jon-zang*[9] states that Sāntarakṣita was a contemporary of Gopāla I and Dharmapāla and was a scion of the royal family of Zahore and a native of Bangala. He was a *paṇḍita of* the Nālandā University and was invited by the Tibetan king Khri-sron-den-tsan to visit Tibet. He established the first Buddhist monastery Sam-ye in 749 A.D. and stayed there for 13 years and died in 762 A.D.. Sāntarakṣita is one of the greatest Buddhist scholars. His literary fame mainly rests on his monumental work

1. Sādhanamālā, Intro , p. xliv. 2. Idid , p. xlvi.
3. Published by Mm. H. P. Shastri in the Bauddha-Gāna-o-Dohā.
4. Index, p. cxv. 5. Cordier, II, p 38.
6. Sādhanamālā, Intro., p. xlvii.
7. Bauddha-Gāna-o-Dohā.
8. Sādhanamālā, Intro., p. xiv.
9. Index, p. xcix, p. 112 ; Mr. S. C. Das, the famous Tibetan scholar, wrote that he was a native of Gauḍa. See JBTS, I. pt. II, p 10.

called *Tattva-saṁgraha.*[1] It is an exposition of the *Mahāyāna* and refutation of other systems of Indian philosophy. He quotes from no less than sixty previous authors, the hollowness of whose arguments is exposed in this book. A learned commentary on *Tattva-saṁgraha* was written by his own disciple, Kamalaśīla. Besides, Śāntarakṣita is said to have written eight books.[2]

Haribhadra flourished during the reign of Dharmapāla at whose request he is said to have written a commentary on *Aṣṭa-sahasra-Prajñā-pāramitā* in order to work out a compromise between *Śūnyavāda* and *Vijñanavāda* of Nāgārjuna and Maitreyanātha.[3] Kāyastha Ṭaṅkadāsa was the chief *lekhaka* of Dharmapāla.[4] . He wrote a commentary called *Suviśada-sampuṭa*[5] on *Hevajra-tantra.*

Various legends have grown around the name of Matsyendra-nātha, also known as Mīnanātha and Mīnapāda. It is really difficult to know the truth about this man who occupies a foremost place among both the Buddhist and Hindu *Tāntrikas.* He was the *guru* of Gorakṣanātha and is much revered by the Nātha sect all over northern India. Most probably he was a fisherman by caste and was born in Candradvīpa. He preached his doctrine in Kāmarūpa. Dr. P. C. Bagchi after a careful examination of all the available legendary accounts is inclined to place him in the beginning of the 10th century A.D. and accepts the identification of Matseyndranātha with Lui-pā.[6] His *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya* deals with the *Kaula* doctrine of the Saiva Tāntrikas but shows his acquintance with Buddhist Tāntrika doctrines.

Ācārya Jetāri came of a Brāhmana family. He was a teacher of Dīpaṅkara and may be assigned to the last part of the 10th century. His father Garbhapāda served the local king of Varendra, Sanātana by name. Jetāri is said to have been expelled by his kinsmen and consequently entered the Buddhist order. Three books on

1. Published in GOS, No. XXX.
2. Ibid., Intro., p., Hist. of Ind. Logic, pp. 823 ff.
3. JBORS, V, p. 177. 4. Spp, 1318, p. 254.
5. Cordier, II, p. 67.
6. See the learned Introduction by Dr. P. C. Bagchi to Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya, published in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. III.

logic called *Hetu-tattvopadeśa*, *Dharmâdharma-viniścaya* and *Bâlâvatâra-tarka* are attributed to him in the *Bstan-hgyur*.[1]

Tailika-pâda or Tilopâ was a contemporary of Mahīpâla. In the *Bstan-hgyur* he is described as of Uḍḍiyâna,[2] while the *Pag-sam-jon-zang*[3] records that he was originally a Brahmana of Chittagong and lived in the Paṇḍita Vihâra there. Several books on Tântrika Buddhism are attributed to him.

According to Târânâtha, Avadūtapâda Advayavajra was a contemporary of Mahīpâla I, and Dīpaṅkara. Fifty-three works have been attributed to him. Twenty of them have been published under the heading *Advayavajra-saṁgraha*.[4]

Jñānaśrī Mitra was born in Gauḍa. He was a gate-keeper of the Vikramaśīlâ monastery during the time of Dīpaṅkara's visit to Tibet and he is said to have owed a great deal to Jñānaśrī.[5] He was at first a follower of the *Srāvaka* school but later accepted *Mahāyāna*. Three works, entitled *Kāryakāraṇa-bhāva-siddhi* (on logic), *Tantra-mūla-vṛtti* (a *Tāntrika* Buddhist work) and *Vṛtti-mālā-stuti* (on metre) are attributed to him.

Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atiśa is a great name in later Buddhist history and in Tibet he occupies a place, second only to Buddha himself. His biography is known from a Tibetan source.[6] He was born in 980 A.D. in the royal family of Vikramaṇipura in Bangala. He was the son of Kalyāṇaśrī and Prabhâvatī, and his original name was Candragarbha. He learnt five minor sciences from Jetâri and *piṭakas* of the *Mahāyāna* doctrine, *Mādhyamika* and *Yogācāra* metaphysics from Rāhulagupta. At the age of thirty-one he became a full-fledged *bhikṣu* and spent 12 years in Suvarṇadvīpa in studying under Dharmakīrti. His vast learning won for him the exalted position of the high priest of Vikramaśīlā. He mediated the hostilities between king Karṇa and Nayapāla. In course of the description of a

1. For short notices of these books, see Hist. of Ind. Logic, p. 337.
2. Cordier. II, p. 79. 3. Index, p. xli,
4. GOS, No. XL. 5. Hist. Ind. Logic. p. 337.
6. JBTS, I, p. 9 ff.

convocation at Vikramaśīlā, the Tibetan envoy who was deputed to escort him says, "When all the rows of seats were filled up, there came lord Atiśa, the *Venerable of Venerables,* in all his glory at whose sight the eyes felt no satiety. His graceful appearance and smiling face struck every one of the assembly. From his waist hung down a bundle of keys. The Indians, Nepalese and Tibetans all looked at him and looked upon him for a countryman of their own. There was brightness mixed with simplicity of expression on his face, which acted as a magic-spell upon those who beheld him."[1] After repeated invitations he went to Tibet to reform the Buddhist church there. He died in 1053 A.D. at the age of seventy-three. Twenty of his works are known in the *Bstan-hgyur.* Besides, with the help of some *lotsavas* (Paṇḍitas) he translated many Sanskrit books, more than hundred of which are mentioned in the *Bstan-hgyur.*

Ratnākara Śāntideva, also known as Bubhukṣu, was a gate keeper of the Vikramaśīlā monastery. Tārānātha says that he was a disciple of Dīpaṅkara and was a native of Zāhore in Bangala. He composed a *sādhana.*[2] He went to Ceylon to preach Buddhist doctrine. A work on prosody, called *Chando-Ratnākara,* is attributed to him. Two works on logic *Vijñapti-mātrā-siddhi* and *Antar-vyāpti,* are also known[3] and some of his vernacular songs have been published.

Prajñāvarman hailed from Kāva in Bhoṅgala (Vaṅgāla)[4] and was contemporary of Dānaśīla who flourished during the reign of Nayapāla. Prajñāvarman is known as a translator of Sanskrit books in Tibetan. He composed two works on Tāntrika Buddhism and a commentary on *Udāna-varga.*

Besides the above-mentioned authors and writers, there must have been many other Bengali scholars. In the above account only those have been included, about whom there is some definite evidence to show that they belonged to some part of Bengal. Some of the

1. JASB, 1891, pt. I, pp. 46-53.
2. No. 78. of Sādhnamālā, Intro., p. cxi.
3. Hist. of Ind. Logic. pp. 342-3.
4. Rockhill, Udānavarga, Intro., p. XII,

scholars whom we know only as teachers of the monasteries of Nālandā, Vikramaśilā, Jagaddala, Paṇḍita Vihāra and Vikramapurī Vihāra must have hailed from Bengal but the fact is that nothing is known of their nativity.

Vernacular Buddhist Literature – Mm. H. P. Shastri published the mystic vernacular songs of 34 authors[1] and he regarded all of them as Bengalees because he noticed use of some obsolete and peculiar Bengali words in them. These mystic songs were composed by *Mahāsiddhas* who are said to have performed great miracles. There are various legends connected with their lives current in Nepal and Tibet, and it is difficult to know their real life-stories. The songs show that they were teachers of Buddhist *Sahaja* cult and seem to have some connection with the Śaiva *Nātha-panthīs.* Matsyendranātha, Gorakṣanātha and Jālandharipā are claimed by both the sects and held in great reverence. It is also clear that the *Siddhas* practised esoteric doctrines and *yoga.* Attempts have been made sometimes to explain abstruse philosophy in a popular way through these songs.

The distinguished linguist Dr. S. K. Chatterjee[2] notices distinctive Bengali traits of speech in the *dohās* of 20 writers Lui-pā (2 poems), Kukkurī (2), Virūpa or Birūwā (1), Gu(ṇ)ḍari (1), Cāṭila (1), Bhusuka (8), Kāmali or Kambalāmabara (1), Ḍombī (1), Śānti (2), Mahittā or Mahīdhara (1), Bijjila or Vīṇā-pāda (1), Śabara (2), Aja or Āryadeva (1), Dheṇḍhana (1), Dārika (1), Bhāde or Bhādrapāda (1), Tāḍaka (1), Kaṅkaṇa (1), Jaya-nandī (1), Guñjarī (1). The only exceptions are the *dohās* of Saraha (4) and Kānha (12) which are written in *Apabhraṁśa* dialect. Judging from the language, he expresses the opinion that these authors should be assigned to the period between 950-1200 A.D. and finds great influence of Western Saurasenī *Apabhraṁśa,* "the most cultivated literary language" of that period on these songs, and he further says that their language seems to be

1. Bauddha-Gāna-o-Dohā, Intro.
2. Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, I, pp. 119-28, 117.

based on a West Bengali dialect. The same scholar[1] admits that in the 8th-11th centuries Bengali, Maithilī and Oriyā characteristics were probably in "formative fluid" and only in the 14th century they were fully developed. Though there is difference of opinion about the date of these *dohās,* it is generally admitted that they cannot be posterior to 1200 A.D.. It is therefore reasonable to hold that in the period of these *Āścarya-caryā-caya*[2] the distinctive features of Oriyā, Bengali and Maithilī were not fully developed from their common parent Magadhan *Apabhraṁśa.* There is nothing to show that all the authors were Bengalees. These songs were meant for the people at large and were very popular in eastern India. Most probably they belonged to different parts of eastern India, if not to other parts of northern India.

Budhist Universities—The account of the Buddhist scholars remains unfinished without the description of the Buddhist Vihāras in which they congregated for higher studies.

Nālandā—The first and foremost one was the famous Nālandā University. It came into prominence as a seat of learning from the time of Kumāragupta I, and since then many other kings bestowed their favours on it. The royal patrons mentioned by Yuan Chwang were Śakrāditya, Budhaguptarāja, Tathāgatagupta, Bālādityarāja, Vajra and Harṣavardhana or Śīlāditya. The Nālandā inscription of the time of Yaśovarman of Kanouj records that his minister's son, Mālaḍa by name, made various offerings to the monks of this Vihāra.

With the establishment of the Pāla power over Magadha the Buddhist Pāla kings played an important part in the growth of the University of Nālandā. A copper plate of Dharmapāla has been found in course of excavations but the object of this grant cannot be ascertained because of its defaced condition.[1] The two inscriptions of the time of Devapāla throw a flood of light on the importance of this international seat of learning. The Nālandā grant of his 39th regnal year records that king Bālaputradeva of Suvarṇa-

1. Ibid, p. 97. 2. IHQ, 1960, p 169.
After the publication of this note, these songs should be better denoted by this term and not Cāryyācaryyaviniścaya.

1. ASIR, 1926-27, pp. 138-39

dvīpa and Yavadvīpa (Sumatra and Java) was "attracted by the manifold excellences of Nālandā" and built a monastery[1] there, which was the abode of the assembly of monks of various good qualities and was white with series of stucco and lofty buildings." This king requested Devapāla to grant five villages for the offerings, oblations, shelter, garments of the assembly of monks. This proves beyond doubt that it was a far-famed seat of learning and its fame was not confined within the borders of India. The Gosarawa inscription or Vīradeva *praśasti* supplies also some interesting information. Vīradeva, a native of modern Jalalabad, after visiting Kaniṣka-vihāra at Puṣpapura and meeting the monks of his own country at Yaśovarmapura (which perhaps could not satisfy his thirst for knowledge) was attracted by Nālandā. His vast erudition won for him the admiration of Devapāla[2] and the exalted position of the head of the great University. Many images were installed there during his regime and it seems that he added some structures to the establishments. A votive *stūpa* was built in the reign of Mahīndrapāla[3] who is most probably to be identified with the Pratihāra king Mahendrapāla. An image of Vāgīśvarī was covered with golden leaves in the reign of Gopāla II.[4] In the sixth year of Mahīpāla I the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-Prajñā-pāramitā* was copied by one Kalyāṇamitra.[5] In the 11th year of his reign a temple was rebuilt by one Bālāditya, a jyāviṣa of Tiladhaka (modern Telera) who had emigrated from Kauśāmbī.[6] In the fourth year of Rāmapāla's reign the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-Prajñā-pāramitā* was copied[7] and the same book was copied there in the 4th year of Govindapāla.[8] All these show that the Pālas exercised control over the University of Nālandā upto their last days.

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1. The remains of the monastery of Bālaputradeva form one of the levels of Monastery No. 1. Kurashi, Guide to Nālandā, p. 4.
2. It is not clear whether he was appointed by Devapāla or elected by the assembly of the monks.
3. ASIR, 1925-6, p. 86 ; EI, VIII, App., p. 118, Note 2.
4. JASB, NS, IV, p. 105.
5. Bendall, Cat. of Bd. San. Ms. in the Camb. U. Library, p. 101.
6. JASB, IV, p. 106.
7. Cat. Sans. Mss. in the Bodelian Library, p. 250.
8. JRAS, NS, VIII, p. 3.

Vikramaśīlā—The other important monastery of which some interesting details are known from the Tibetan accounts is that of Vikramaśīla.[1] As regards its origin various legends have been narrated in Tibetan books, but it seems that it was founded by Dharmapāla who bore the title Vikramaśīla, and as such it is sometimes called *"Śrīmad-Vikramaśīla-deva-vihāra."*[2] Opinions of scholars are divided as to the site of this famous monastery. It has been sought to be identified with Silas near Baragaon,[3] with Patharghata[4] and Keur.[5] All that is definitely known from the Tibetan account is that it was situated on a precipitous hill in Bihar on the right bank of the Ganges. "Patharghata" says Mr. N. L. De, "is about six miles to the north of Colgong, 24 miles to the east of Bhagalpur and 28 to the east of Campanagar; while "Keur is in direct line with Nālandā and Odantapurī and within 15 miles of Nālandā, and its close similarity with Nālandā remains, amply satisfies every known detail of Vikramaśīlā." Dharmapāla provided it with four establishments and 27 monks were accommodated in each of them. Provisions were also made for the maintenance of resident monks and pilgrims. In his time the head of the vihāra was Buddha-jñāna-pāda. In Nayapāla's time the central hall had six gates which opened six colleges. Each college had one hundred students and eight professors. There was an encircling wall around the whole establishment. The portraits of Nāgārjuna and Atiśa Dīpaṅkara adorned the main entrance and the subjects on which great stress was laid were grammar, theology and philosophy. But the most important subject that was taught here and which gained high recognition was Tāntrikism. Vikramaśīlā's fame rests mainly on producing great *Tāntrika* scholars and it seems that because of this it outshone Nālandā in importance. Distinguished scholars like Jetāri of Varendra and Ratnavajra of Kāśmīra received the diploma of "paṇḍita" from the kings themselves.[6] It may be men-

1. S. C. Das, Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow, pp. 10-11.
2. R. L. Mitra, Nepalese Bd. Literature, p. 229 ; Bhāratī, B. S., 1315, p. 2, JRAS, 1910, pp. 150-51 ; GOS, Rāmacarita, Intro., p. xxii.
3. Cunningham, ASR, VIII, p. 76.
4. JASB, V, p. 7 ; Samaddar, Glories of Magadha, p. 157.
5. JBORS, XV, p. 276.
6. Hist. Ind. Logic, p. 520.

tioned in this connection that the titles of the Buddhist scholars were generally *Ācārya, Mahācārya, Upādhyāya, Mahopādhyāya, Paṇḍita, Mahāpaṇḍita and Bhikṣu.*

When Dīpaṅkara was the head, there were 108 professors and each of the six gates had a gate-keeper. Only erudite scholars were appointed gate-keepers. Students seeking admission were put to a test before one of the gate-keepers who, I think, should be better called Heads of the Departments as in modern Universities. A board consisting of eminent professors supervised the affairs of the University and issued instructions to the professors. Disciplinary action against a monk was only taken on consulting the whole congregation of the monks. The life and character of Dīpaṅkara, so vividly described by the Tibetan envoy Nag-tsho, shows the regard for truth and the high sense of duty of the monks of Vikramaśīlā.

In Bengal proper there were many monasteries. Nothing in partciular is known of the monastery of Ācārya-Śāntideva to which Vainyagupta granted land in 508 A.D. for providing perfumes, flowers, lights and incense and also garments, food, beds, seats and medicines for the sick. The vihāra of Ācārya Jitasena is also mentioned in this record. It is recorded by Yuan Chwang[1] that in his time there were at least two famous colleges. In the Po-chi-po *saṅghārāma* which has been identified by Cunningham with Bhasu Vihāra, four miles to the west of Mahāsthāna,[2] there lived 700 *Mahāyāna* priests and many renowned priests from eastern India also dwelt there. Its courts were lighty and roomy; its towers and pavilions were very lofty. In the Raktaviti *saṅghārāma* at Karṇasuvarṇa congregated all the most disitinguished men of the kingdom, who strove to promote each other's advancement by exhortation and to perfect their character. Its halls were lighty and spacious and the storeyed towers were lofty. The monastery of the revered teacher Saṅghamitra to which Devakhaḍga granted land for the longevity of his son Rājarājabhaṭa seems to have been an important institution, although nothing is known about it. It is also to be mentioned that we have

1. Watters, II, pp. 184-191 ; Beal, Records, II, pp. 195-202.

2. ASR, XV, pp. 104-7.

reference in the second Asrafpur plate to four others (*vihāra-vihārikā-catuṣṭaya*).

We are rather fortunate in having a vivid account of the Bhā-rā-hā monastery at Tāmralipti from I-tsing.[1] The residents did not themselves cultivate lands of the monasteries but the tenants did it for them. The priests received only 1/3 of the vegetables. "Thus they live their just life, avoiding worldly affairs, and free from the faults of destroying lives by ploughing and watering fields." Every morning the managing priest examined the water of the well in order to see if there was any insect or animate being in it. Every business was done with the assent of the assembly of the monks There was no head. If any priest did anything according to his own will in disregard of the decision of the assembly, he was expelled from the monastery as he behaved like a householder. The nuns wishing to visit the priests were to inform the assembly of their purpose of visit. The priest were to go to nuns' apartments after making an inquiry. When the nuns walked outside the monastery, they walked in a company of two and when they went to any layman's house, they were to go in a company of four. When women visited the monastery, they did not go to the apartments of priests but talked in the corridor. Monastic rules and rites were explained on the four *Uposatha* days of every month to the assembly of the monks. A junior monk had to leave the monastery because of playing trick on a tenant's wife, although it was not considered an offence. The pilgrim observes that Rāhulamitra of excellent character, who had never spoken with any woman face to face except his mother and sister, was the model of all monks and was the most honoured priest in the eastern districts of India. Learned monks who had mastered the *piṭakas* were provided with the best rooms and servants. If they delivered daily lectures, they were relieved of the usual duties of an ordinary priest. On account of the priests' mutual confession, their faults were prevented before their growth and as a rule they submitted to laws. The rites of Nālandā,[2] we are told, were still stricter and hence its great fame and greater number of students.

1. Takakasu, Ch. X, pp. 62 65.
2. Ably discussed by Sankalia, University of Nālandā, Ch. II, pt. II; Ch. VIII.

Somapurī Mahāvihāra—Although nothing definite is known from literary source regarding the site of this great monastery, the evidence is now overwhelming for its identification with the Pahārpur temple.[1] A clay seal found in course of excavations at Paharpur supplies the information that the Vihāra was founded by Dharmapāla.[2] Tārānātha[3] and the author of the *Pag-sam-jon-zang*[4] attribute its foundation to Devapāla, and this perhaps indicates that he added some structures[5] which were begun by his father. About the middle of the 12th century a Buddhist monk, Vipulaśrīmitra by name, built a shrine of Tārā, and this temple has been identified with that of the same goddess, exposed at Satyapira Bhita[6] at Paharpur. The Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra further informs that Karuṇāśrīmitra died at Somapura when his house was set on fire by an army of a Vaṅgāla king. Karuṇāśrīmitra was removed from him by two generations of teachers, namely Maitrīśrīmitra and Asokaśrīmitra. Besides the building of the shrine of Tārā, all other pious activities of Vipulaśrīmitra have been enumerated in this record. On a festival day he offered a casket to the temple of Khasarpaṇa for the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, installed four images at its alms-houses at Choyandaka, installed an image of Dīpaṅkara Buddha at Harṣapura and offered a gold ornament for the decoration of an image of Buddha at Somapura. It is known from a Bodh-Gaya inscription[7] that a *Mahāyāna* monk named Vīryendrabodhi who hailed from Samataṭa and was a resident of the Somapura-vihāra installed a Buddha image near the Mahābodhi temple (in *c.* the tenth century). Other celebrated scholars connected with this monastery were *Mahāpaṇḍita* Bodhibhadra[8] and Advaya-

1. VRS, Monograph No. 5, p. 27.
2. ASIR, 1626-7, p. 149 ; 1227-21, pp. 105-6.
3. IA, IV, p. 866,
4. Index, p. cxxx,
5. A colophon of Atiśa Dipaṅkara's Ratna-Karaṇodghaṭa ascribes the foundation of the Vikramaśilā-vihāra to Devapāla who most probably, as Mr. N. N. Dasgupta suggests, added some structures to both the monasteries started by his father, see IC. 1, p. 229
6. EI, xxI, p. 101.
7. SPP. 1823, B. S., p. 70.
8. Çordier, II, pp. 98, 260.

vajra.[1] Atīśa passed some time in it in translating the *Madhyamaka-Ratna-Pradīpa.*[2]

Jagaddala-vihāra—This last great Buddhist monastery was built by Rāmapāla at the confluence of the Ganges and the Karatoyā. Its renowned alumni were Bibhūticandra, Dānaśīla, Mokṣakaragupta, Śubhakaragupta and Dharmākara.[3] The works composed by its *paṇḍitas* are grossly Tāntrik in character and generally deal with Piśācas, owls Nāgas, Yokṣas etc., and their *sādhanās.*[4] One special feature of Jagaddala-vihāra was that many *lotsavas* (Tibetan scholars) thronged here and translated many Sanskrit books in Tibetan.

Other minor Vihāras—The existence of Vikramapurī-vihāra is known from the *Bstan-hgyur* but nothing definitely is known about its origin.[5] Kumāracandra belonged to this monastery. The existence of the Traikuṭaka-vihāra in Baṅgāla is known from *Pag-sam-jon-zang,*[6] and it was here that Haribhadra wrote his commentary on *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā.* The same book refers to the Paṇḍita-vihāra in Chittagong where flourished Tailikapāda.[7] The Suvarṇa-vihāra was in Nadia.[8] The Kanaka-stūpa-vihāra[9] was situted in Paṭṭikarā, easily identifiable with the Paṭikera *paraganā* of the Tippera district. From the Mainamati plate of Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva, dated in 1141 S.E., it is further known that there was a *vihāra* in that locality and it was dedicated to the goddess *Durgottarā,* a form of Tārā. Chittagong is the only place where a Buddhist community still thrives and traces of Buddhism can be found in many localities.[10]

1. Ibid, pp. 116, 120 ; III, p. 5.
2. Ibid, III, p. 299.
3. IC, I, p. 232.
4. Sankalia, University of Nālandā, p. 189
5. Mr. N. N. Dasgupta suggests that it owed its origin to Dharmapāla, Bhāratvarṣa, 1341 B. S., pp. 962-970 ; IC, I, p. 280.
6. Index pp. xciv, xli ; MASB, III, No. I, p. 5.
7. Index, p. lxii ; JASB, 1898, p. 24.
8. SPP, 1321, B. S, p. 205.
9. IHQ, IX, pp. 282 ff.
10. IHQ, 1932, pp. 382 ff.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL CONDITION

Brahmana Immigrations—The genealogical books of the Bengali *ghaṭakas* (match-makers) form a class of literature by themselves and it is a separate *śāstra* by its special importance like the *Śrutis* and *Smṛtis*. There is an extensive literature on the subject, variously called *Kulaśāstras, Kulagranthas* or *Kulapañjikās*. The main object of the genealogical books is to keep a correct record of the lineal descendants of important families, their branches and sub-branches with their social impurities and indignities in order to enable to gauge their social rank and status. The list of the ascendants of a family is necessary on some ceremonial occasions and they are supremely useful in forming matrimonial relationship, as connection of a pure family with a lower one will degrade the former also. Generally the lists coming from different sources agree with one another. But it is very difficult to handle these books for historical purposes. None of them has proved to be old and most of them are based on current traditions, sometimes orally transmitted from generation to generation. But what diminishes their historical value is that they are 'propagandist' in the extreme sense of the term. The *Rāḍhīya* and *Vārendra* Brahmanas assert that they are the pure descendants of the five immigrants alleged to have been imported by king Ādiśūra. The contention of their books is that the original Brahmanas of Bengal lost their purity and competence in performing religious rites and rituals correctly and hence the importation of five pure Brahmanas at the instance of Ādiśūra. The *Pāścātya Vaidikas* declare that the *Rāḍhīyas* and *Vārendras* were incapable of understanding the proper meaning of the Vedic *mantras,* and so king Sāmalavarman had to invite some *Vaidika* Brahmanas from the western provinces because of their profound knowledge in Vedic lore and rites. Not to speak of the important sections like the *Rāḍhīyas, Vārendras* and *Vaidikas,* every genealogist or protagonist tries to prove the purity and superiority of those whose cause he

espouses. In course of the development of Kulinism with all its intricacies and complexities there arose a class of professional *ghaṭakas* who may properly be regarded as heralds. There are instances of their tampering with the *Kulapañjikās* with not very disinterested or good motives. What is most instructive and interesting in this connection is that even most of the modern writers on the subject (though they profess to be critical and scientific) suffer from this defect. Few would give out the social stigma, if there were any, on their own families and by distorting truths by every possible means they would prove their purity and superiority. Above all, it must be borne in mind that the desire to associate oneself with a celebrated man or family or to claim a high pedigree is more or less inherent in human nature. In spite of these defects, it may be said that the traditions may contain some historical truths underlying them. In the *Kulaśāstras* are to be found the social organisations and reorganisations in various ranks and grades that were made by great social reformers to meet the needs of the changing circumstances from time to time, and some of them still hold good in case of the majority of the Hindu society of Bengal. They offer us a glimpse into the Hindu society during the Muslim rule which it is impossible to have from any other source.

Scholars with a scientific bent of mind have generally expressed grave doubts on the *Kulaśāstras* as reliable sources of evidence. Thus Messrs. R. D. Banerjee[1] and R. P. Chanda[2] who have discussed the historicity of Ādiśūra at great length have ultimately come to the conclusion that so long as his name is not to be found in some other more reliable recrods, it is futile to determine his place in history. But both of them conceded the historical existence of a king of that name because of the unanimity of all traditions from different *Kulapañjikās*. The introduction of *Kulinism* by Vallālasena has also been doubted by this school of wirters because of the absence of its mention in the Sena grants.

1. BI, 2nd and 3rd Appendices.
2. Sāhitya, 1321 B.S., p 751

The opposite school is led by Mr. N. N. Vasu[1] and the native orthodox school of writers[2] who are ready to accept the evidence of the *Kulapañjikās* in toto. They write generally from the social standpoint. Excepting Mr. N. N. Vasu, none of them seems to be well acquainted with the archæological materials for history, and naturally the accounts of these books are given prominence and preference. But it does not seem that the 'scientific school' of writers have gone deep into this class of literature from the standpoint of social history. Most of the books are in MSS. and adequate study of the subject has not been made. A critical study of the subject is worth attempting

It must be made clear that the accounts of the royal genealogies in *Kulagranthas* are faulty and inaccurate, and their composers were not so much concerned with political history. Sāmalavarman is spelt as Śyāmalavarman and Vijayasena has been made his father. They were written long after the Sena period, and their authors do not seem to have based their accounts on accurate history. Only echoes of some historical truths are sometimes heard, when Vallālasena is connected with the Śūra dynasty through his mother's side and the date 1079 A.D. is mentioned as the time of Sāmalavarman. Their importance lies in the fact that they give a picture of the Hindu society which cannot be found elsewhere.

The *Kulatattvārṇava*[3] (about the genuineness of which we have grave doubts)[4] states that a king named Śūdraka imported *Sārasvata* Brahmanas in Vaṅga in order to perform a *putreṣṭi* sacrifice, but this lacks corroboration from any other book. All books agree in stating that king Ādiśūra brought five Brahmanas

1. His ten volumes on Castes and Sects of Bengal (in Bengali) called Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa.

2. For names of authors, see Appendix E.

3. Vs. 10-20.

4. See my remarks on this book in Winternitz commemoration volume.

from Kanouj or Kolāñca. In most of the books[1] the names of the five Brahmanas are Kṣitīśa of the *Sāṇḍilya gotra,* Vītarāga of the *Kāśyapa gotra,* Sudhānidhi of *Vātsya gotra,* Medhātithi of the *Bharadvāja gotra,* and Sambhari of the *Sābarṇa gotra.* The story of their migration is as follows :—Ādiśūra was the lord of Pañca-Gauḍas and vanquished many kings of different parts of India. He had a rival in Vīrasiṁha who is described in some books[2] as king of Kanouj and in others, of Kāśī. This king was not subdued by ordinary warfare. Therefore seven hundred armed Brahmanas of Bengal were sent on cows' back by Ādiśūra to fight with him. There could not be any fighting without killing the cows and Brahmanas, which, as a pious and religious-minded man, Vīrasiṁha could not do. Thus he was compelled to send five pure *Sāgnika* Brahmans to Ādiśūra in whom Bengal was lacking. The *Kulatattvārṇava* supports this story but adds that Ādiśūra needed these Brahmanas for the performance of a *putreṣṭi* sacrifice. The *Vārendra Kula-pañjikā*[3] supplies the information that Ādiśūra brought the Brahmanas from Kanouj for fulfilling the wishes of his wife Candramukhī, the daughter of the Kanauj king Candraketu, who wanted to perform a *vrata* by pure Brahmanas.

The dates of the migration of the five Brahmanas in differnet books fall within the period between the eighth and the eleventh centuries. The earliest is 654 S.E.=732 A.D., and it is mentioned in many books.[4] The dates S.E., 954, S.E., 994 S.E. and 999 S.E. are

1. There is some discrepancy in the names of the five immigrants. According to the Vārendra Kulapanjikā, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Dakṣa, Chāndaḍa, Harṣa and Vedagarbha are the original settlers. Mr. N. N. Vasu cites a book in which Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Suṣeṇa, Dharādhara, Gautama and Parāśara are the original settlers but are called the sons of Kṣitīśa, Vītarāga, Sudhānidhi, Medhātithi and Sambhari. We therefore take this list (which is found in Rāḍhiya books) as more trustworthy and reliable. (VJI. I.p. 102).

2. VJI, I, pp. 73-82, see different versions of the story.

3. Ibid.

4. IHQ. XI, pp. 73-74, Appendix F.

also met with.[1] It is definite that Ādiśūra was not responsible for the migrations of the Brahmanas on all these dates which fall within three centuries. Either these dates are wrong or they record the time of migrations of different batches of Brahmanas. It is also interesting to note that at the time of Vallālasena there was the 13th generation of the *Bharadvājas* and *Sābarṇas,* the 12th of the *Sāṇḍilyas* and *Vātsyas* and the 8th of the *Kāśyapas* in Rāḍha; and in Varendra there was the 14th of the *Sāṇḍilyas,* the 15th of the *Kāśyapas,* the 13th of the *Bharadvājas* and *Sābarṇas* and the 4th of the *Vātsyas* of the descendants of the five immigrants.[2] All the difficulties can be solved by the natural presumption that the Brahmanas came to settle from time to time, and every migration has been associated with the name of Ādiśūra (whose zeal and effort were perhaps the cause of one) in the *Kulaśāstras* which were composed long after that event. It may be that all dates have not been remembered. It is not to be believed on the authority of the *Kulaśāstras* that there had been no Brahmanas of the above five *gotras* before the alleged migration through the efforts of Ādiśūra. The evidence of the Faridpur plate (No. 3), the Vappagoshavata plate of the time of Jayanāga and the Nidhanpur plates is conclusive on the point, as they mention many Brahmanas of the five *gotras.* This may explain in a way why the ancestors of *Sābarṇa* Bhatta Bhavadeva and *Bharadvāja* Prahāsa of the Silimpur inscription and Śāṇḍliya Guravamiśra have not been described as immigrants from outside, as their families had been settled in Bengal from very remote times.

There has been much discussion on the vexed question of Ādiśūra, and previous writers could not offer any satisfactory solution of the problem. The present writer drew attention to a hitherto unnoticed king, *Magadhādhirāja* Ādisiṁha of the Dudhpani Rock inscription, who may be identified with Ādiśūra[3] of the *Kulaśāstras* with some degree of plausibility. There is no difference in the meaing of the names, the words 'śūra' and 'siṁha' being used in the sense

1. See Appendix F.
2. VJI. I.
3. IHQ. XI, p. 70.

of hero. Palaeographically the record has been assigned by Kielhorn to the eighth century. The earliest date 732 A.D. of the migration has been mentioned in the majority of the books so far known. The king Ādisiṁha is to be placed after the Later Guptas and before the extension of the Pāla power over Magadha. There could not have been any room for *Magadhādhirāja* Ādisiṁha when these two dynasties were ruling there. There is nothing improbable in the fact that a king of Magadha had some portion of Gauḍa under him. Gauḍa and Magadha were on many occasions politically united. The unnamed king of Gauḍa who was defeated and killed by Yaśovarman of Kanauj in the first half of the eighth century has been described by Vākpati as *Māgadanātha* also. It is mentioned in the *Kulaśāstras* that the five Brahmana immigrants were granted the villages of Pañcakoṭi in Manbhum, Vaṭagrāma in Burdwan, Harikoṭi in Midnapore, Kāmakoṭi in Birbhum and Kaṅkagrāma not far from Bāṇakuṇḍa.[1] After the discovery of the Saktipur grant of Lakṣmaṇasena[2] the last mentioned village can be identfiied with some degree of certainty, and it seems that it is represented by Kāgrāma in the Kandi sub-division of Murshidabad.[3] It is also to be mentioned that Bārakuṇḍa, a locality in P. S. Suri, may be identified with Bāṇakuṇḍa near Kaṅkagrāma of the *Kulapañjikās*.

Most of the books record that the five immigrants came from Kanouj or Kolāñca. Only one Vārendra *Kulapañjikā*[4] states that they migrated from different places—the *Sāṇḍilya* family from Jambucatvara, the *Vātsya* from Tāḍita, the *Bharadvāja* from Audumbara, the *Sābarṇa* from Madra and the *Kāśyapa* from Kolāñca. The fact that in this account there are the names of three important places like Audambara, Madra and Kolāñca gives it some degree of credibility, though Jambucatvara and Tāḍita cannot be located. There are many epigraphic evidences of the fact that many Brahmana emi-

1. VJI., I, pp. 109-111.
2. EI., XXI, p. 214.
3. SPP, 1340 B.S., pp. 78.
4. VJI, I, p. 102.

grants from Tarkāri[1] (variantly called Tarkkāri, Tarkkārikā), Kroḍāñja[2] or Kroḍāñca or Kulāñca (easily identifiable with Kolāñca of the *Kulaśāstras)* and from Madhyadeśa figure as donees of royal grants of different provinces. Let us first take the case of Tarkāri. It is recorded in the Silimpur *praśasti* of Prahāsa that his ancestors (a Bharadvāja family) originally lived in Tarkāri within Śrāvastī-*janapada* from where they migrated to Bālagrāma and Siyāmvaka which have been described as ornaments of Varendra. In two inscriptions[3] it has been definitely stated that Tarkāri was in Madhyadeśa, and it deserves particular notice that in one of the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañjadeva of the year 50 Tarkāri has been specifically mentioned to have been in Śrāvastīdeśa.[4] In the Ajayagar inscription[5] Tarkārikā has been called the chief abode of the *Śrīvāstava* Kāyasthas who are still now an important section of the Kāyasthas of the United Provinces. All these point to the fact that there was a Tarkāri within far-famed Śrāvastī in the Gonda district of U.P. Brahmana emigrants[6] from Śrāvastī-*maṇḍala, bhukti* and *viṣaya* figure as donees in the Mahāśivagupta Yayāti's Patna plates, the Katak plates of Mahāśivagupta II, the Sonpur plate of Someśvaradeva, the Madhuvan plate of Harṣavardhana, the Dighwa-Dubhali plate of Mahendrapāla and the Lucknow Museum plate of Kīrtipāla. The donee of the Bangarh grant of Mahīpāla I has been described as an emigrant from Hastipāda. The donees of two grants from Orissa[7] also hailed from a village of that name, and in one of them it is mentioned that Hastipāda was in Madhyadeśa. The donees of the Irda plate of the Kamboja king Nayapāla and the Jajilpara grant of Gopāla II have been described as emigrants from Kuntīra and Muktāvastu which cannot be located at present. The ascendants of the donees of the Belāva plate of Bhojavarman and the Barrackpore plate of Vijayasena have been described as *Madhya-*

1. SPP., 1341 B. S., pp. 25 ff; see also IA., 1931, pp. 14 ff; XLVIII, p. 208.
2. IC., II, pp. 386 ff.
3. IA., XLVIII p. 280.
4. IHQ. x, pp. 477.
5. N. N. Vasu, Kāyastha Varṇa-Nirṇaya, p. 72
6. SPP., 1341 B. S, pp. 25 ff.
7. Ibid.

deśa-vinirgata. There are at least seven charters[1] which record land grants to Brahmana emigrants from Kroḍāñja, the location of which is not yet certain; but it is to be observed that the tradition as preserved in the *Kulaśāstras* unanimously associates it with Kanauj i.e., in Madhyadeśa.

It is almost certain that there was a Śrāvastī in northern Bengal, the existence of which is perhaps indicated by a *śloka*[2] in the *Matsya* and *Kurma Purāṇas* and is proved by the evidence of the two inscriptions of the Kāmarūpa kings Dharmapāla and Indrapāla and the Vaigrāma plate. Its location in Bogra and Dinajpur Districts is also certain.[3] It is also quite possible, as has been suggested by some scholars, that there was a Kolāñca[4] within the locality of Śrāvastī in Bengal (which has been identified with Kulāñca in the Bogra district[5]). It is to be noticed that this Śrāvastī and Kūlāñca were not far removed from the city of Gauḍa in northern Bengal. Long ago Cunningham[6] pointed out that there was a Gauḍa in the Gonda district, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Vāyupurāṇa* also mention a Gauḍa in Uttarakośala.[7] It seems that northern Bengal had very important relations with Śrāvastīdeśa, so far as the migrations of the Brahmanas were concerned. The far-famed Śrāvastī was not only a centre of Buddhism, Jainism and Ājivikism but also a strong-hold of the Brahmanical religions, as it has been shown by Dr. B. C. Law[8] even from the stray references in the early

1. IC, II, pp. 386 ff.
2. EI, XIII, p. 290.
3. Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī p. 187; EI, XXIII, p. 108; IC, II, p. 386 ff. The Assam inscriptions refer to Sāvathi and one of them mentions a place called Vagirāma in it, the identity of which is established by the Vaigram plate.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. ASI, I, p. 327; IX, pp. 151-152.
7. EI., XIII, p. 290; IHQ, XIII, p. 162.
8. Mr. B. C. Law, Śrāvastī in Ancient Indian Literature, p. 26,

Buddhist literatures. According to Baudhāyana[1] and Vaśiṣṭha[2] it was in Madhyadeśa that the practice and tradition of the Āryas or *śiṣṭas* (cultured men) prevailed and the customs of this place were regarded with special veneration. According to Manu,[3] Madhyadeśa is the country which lies between Himavat and the Vindhya, to the west of Prayāga and to the east of Vinaśana, where the Sarasvatī disappears. It was here that the Brahmanical rituals and social institutions like the caste were developed and elaborated and hence it became "the model country for all ages" and for all *Āryāvarta.*[4] Viewed in this light, the tradition of the *Kulaśāstras* seems to reflect some truth and the migration of the Brahmanas from Madhyadeśa and the honour shown to them are historically intelligible, if not a necessity of the Hindu society of ancient Bengal.

Bengal is not the only province where in epigraphic records the Brahmanas, significantly described as *Madhyadeśa-vinirgatā,* have been honoured with grants of land and other endowments. The instances of the Brahmanas who emigrated from Śrāvastī *-bhukti, maṇḍala* and *viṣaya* have already been noted. In the neighbouring province of Orissa there are about six or seven epigraphs[5] and there is no doubt that such cases can be easily multiplied from the inscriptions of other provinces.

As regards the incident of the migration, there is nothing improbable in the tradition that a king brought some Brahmanas from upper India in course of an expedition. An instance exactly of this nature may be cited. It is known from a southern India inscription,[6] that Biṭṭiga of the *Hārita gotra,* a minister of the Hoysala king Narasiṁha I, descended from one of the fifty chief Brahmanas whom Gaṅga kings brought from the *agrahāra* of Ahichatra in the north when he had gone there in course of a

1. SBE., xiv, 143-4, 147.
2. Ibid, 1-3.
3. Ibid, xxv, 83 ; IHQ., IV, pp. 84 ff.
4. Mr. N. K. Dutta, Aryanisation of India, pp. 89-91
5. SPP., 1341 B. S., pp. 25 ff.
6. Ep. Carn. IV Intro., p. 21.

victorious expedition. The allegation that there were no pure Brahmanas in Bengal is perhaps to be understood with references to the manner and way[1] in which tribes or parts of eastern India have been mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Aitareya Āraṇyaka* and by Baudhāyana. In the later Vedic period Bengal was inhabited by non-Aryan and nomadic tribes and peoples, and orthodox writers like Baudhāyana did not deem it a proper place for Aryan habitation. There is no denying the fact that Bengal received her stock of Aryan population later than the Upper Gangetic countries. In discussing the Brahmana immigrations, the early spread of two manifestly non-Brahmanical religions—Jainism and Buddhism—and their gaining strong foot-holds should also be taken into consideration. There seems to be much truth in the broad generalisation of Prof. Bhandarkar[2] that Bengal was first *Śramanised* and then *Brahmanised.*

But definite evidence regarding the active propagation of the Brahmanical religion and a vigorous movement for *Brahmanisation* of the country we have in the Gupta period, and in this connection the testimony of the five Damodarpur plates[3] is very significant. The objects of the purchase of land as stated in these plates were as follows :—for the purpose of conducting *agnihotra* rites by a Brahmana (N.I), for conducting the daily sacrifices of a Brahmana (N.2), for settling some prominent Brahmanas (No.3), for erection of temples of two Brahmanical gods (N. 4), and to make some repairs in a temple by an inhabitant of Ayodhyā (No. 5). The Dhanaidaha and Vaigram plates also had almost similar objects in view. All these transactions were made within the confines of the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* and in most cases in the Koṭivarṣa-*viṣaya* in the Dinajpur district. These plates bear ample testimony to the fact that during the rule of the staunch Brahmanical Gupta emperors Brahmanical influence was being spread in northern Bengal by the Brahmanas themselves, by local officers and chiefs (No. 3)

1. See *Ante*
2. ABI, XII, pp. 111 ff.
3. EI, XV, p. 113. The same fact is to be noticed in the Faridpur plates (IA 1910, pp 198 ff)

and even by outsiders who were deeply interested in this faith (No.5). The Nidhanpur plates[1] also go to show how almost in the same period Bhutivarman, great-great-grandfather of Bhāskaravarman, was inviting Brahmanas from western provinces by conferring rent-free land in Sylhet. It has been shown by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali that the land granted by these plates is to be located in Panchakhanda in the Sylhet district.[2] The plates are also very important in so far as they preserve the names of more than 200 Brahmanas with their *gotras* and the Vedas they studied. The Tippera grant[3] of Lokanātha is extremely interesting as it reveals the process and way in which a jungly (and presumably non-Brahmanical) tract was brought under the influence of the Brahmanical religion. It is stated therein that in the *viṣaya* of Suvaṅga (not yet located but most probably in the Tippera district) "in the forest region, having no distinction of natural or artificial boundary, having a thick network of bush and creeper, where deer, buffaloes, boars, tigers, serpents etc., enjoy according to their will all pleasures of home life" a Brahmana *Sāmanta* Pradoṣaśarman built a temple of Anantanārāyaṇa and prayed to his chief Lokanātha for some land for the maintenance of the daily worship of the god. This plate also records the names of more than 100 Brahmanas but not their *gotras* and Vedas.

The Brahmanas mentioned in the Nidhanpur and Tippera plates deserve more than a passing notice. It has been pointed out by Mr. J. C. Ghose[4] and Prof. Bhandarkar[5] that they were *Nāgara Brahmanas* who emigrated from western provinces. The issues involved in the latter's illuminating paper on the *Nāgara Brahmanas and the Kāyasthas of Bengal* are various and many, but it is perhaps to be conceded that Vādanagar or Ānandapura, Ahichatra and Sapādalakṣma were important centres of the *Nāgara Brahmanas,* from where they migrated in course of time to different parts of India. What is more important for our purpose is that, similar to the tradi-

1. Ibid. xix, p. 115, 245.
2. JASB., 1935, p 419.
3. EI., xv, p. 301.
4. IHQ., 1930, p. 60.
5. IA., 1932, pp. 41, 91.

tion of the importation of five Brahmanas from Madhyadeśa by Ādiśura, there is a strong tradition among the Sāmpradāyika Brahmanas in Sylhet[1] that five of their ancestors were imported from Mithilā by a king named Ādi Dharmaphā in 641 A.D.. The influence of the former tradition on the latter is perhaps easily traceable, but the date agrees fairly well with the time of Bhāskaravarman and Lokanātha. If there be any truth underlying the tradition current among the *Sāmpradāyikas* in Sylhet, the most interesting point is that those who claim to be their descendants have entirely forgotten the real identity of their forefathers.[2] Mention may also be made of the existence of the Lāṭa Brahmanas in Bengal who were placed in charge of the temple of Nanna-Nārāyaṇa built by *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Nārāyaṇavarman during the reign of Dharmapāla.[3]

Another significant fact is also worthy of special notice in this connection. While in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods private persons or officials and semi-officials in their personal capacities made gifts of lands to the Brahmanas or temples, the Pāla and Sena kings conferred lands of their own accord out of the traditional royal policy, as outlined in the *Arthaśātras* that the king should reward the pious and learned men of the country or because of some services done to the kings or queens. Therefore it is quite reasonable to take the pro-Brahmanical activties of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods as active steps for Brahmanisation of the country.

In the story of the migration of five Brahmanas it is also obvious that there is a propaganda to discredit and lower the original Brahmanas of Bengal. The sendnig of a Brahmana army on cow's back is an absurd thing and it needs no comment. In their zeal to prove their own purity and superiority the *Rāḍhīya* and *Vārendra* writers forget that this would reflect discredit on the king whose religious fervour was at the root of the immigration of their

1. IHQ . 1931. p. 716.

2. Dr. K. M. Gupta suspects that Sāmpradāyika is a modern literary infiltration of the long forgotten significant term Sapādalakṣa.

3. Prof. Bhandarkar is of opinion that these Lāṭa Brahmans were also Nāgara Brahmanas.

five illustrious predecessors. It is said that there were seven hundred Brahmanas in Bengal before that event and hence they were called *Sapta-śatī*. Again, it has been suggested that the word *'Sātsatī'* is the vernacular from of *Sārasvata* but has been again sanskritised into *Sapta-śatī*. Acceptance of this view means that the original Brahmanas were all *Sārasvatas*, but it has no basis to support it excepting the *Kulutattvārṇava*. The *Goṣṭhikathā* sarcastically remarks that their knowledge of the Vedas was very poor and were engaged by the Śūdras as priests. The *Sapta-satīs* in Rāḍha had at least seven *gotras*,[1] while those in Varendra had five.[2] The *Sapta-śatīs* had *gāiñs* like the *Rāḍhīyas* and *Vārendras* and the number amounted to about forty.[3]

In the Pāla and Sena grants there are many Brahmanas who, judged by their *gotras*,[4] are to be regarded in all reasonableness as Sapta-śatīs. Their learning in the *śāstras* is evident from their their description in the grants. They sometimes performed sacrifices and were readers of moral texts and religious books. Mention may be made of a *Kauśika gotra* Brahmana who migrated from Puṇḍravardhana to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom in the ninth century.[5] The charge of impurity and ignorance of the *śāstras* laid against the *Sapta-śatīs* is, therefore, altogether unjustified and must be regarded as merely a propaganda. But the most important fact is that this persistent prapaganda has met with complete success. Few Brahmanas will give out the fact that they are really *Sapta-śatīis* and in the Census of 1931 only nineteen persons were returned as *Sapta-śatīs*.

1. VJI, I, p. 88. They are Śaunaka, Gautama, Kaundanya, Parāśara, Vaśiṣṭha, Hārita and Kautsa. Śāṇḍilya and Ālambāna are also mentioned by N. N. Vasu for which he cites no authority.

2. Ibid., p. 89.

3. See Appendix F.

4. The donee of the Banagrh grant of Mahīpāla I was of the Parāśara gotra and followed the Vājasenya śākhā of the Yajur Veda, of the Manahali plate is of Kautsa-gotra of the Kauthuma-śākha of the Sāmaveda; of the Amgachi plate is of the Kauśikā of Yajurveda; of the Madhainagara grant of the Kauśika-gotra and Paippaladā-śākhā of the Atharvaveda; of the Sunderban plate is of Gārgya-gotra and of Aśvalāyana-śākhā of the Ṛgveda.

5. IA, xxxi, p. 220.

A careful investigation into the *gotras* and *gāiñs* will undoubtedly reveal the existence of a greater number of them who are concealing their identity in order to escape the social stigma and odium due to this propaganda. Some have managed to merge themselves in the *Rāḍhīya, Vārendra* and *Vaidika* societies and it is impossible to discern them. This explains why the number of the descendants of the *Sapta-śatīs* or seven hundred men has been returned as nineteen only, while those of the five Brahmana immigrants of the time of Ādiśūra have reached such a big figure as 351,136 in course of 1000 to 1200 years. The *Kulaśāstras* bear testimony to the fact that the *Sapta-śatīs* entered the *Vārendra* and *Rāḍīya* societies not in inconsiderable numbers. What is more interesting is that at a subsequent period three other *gotras*, viz. *Parāśara, Vaśiṣṭha* and *Gautama,* were added to the original five of the *Rāḍhīyas*. A modern Brahmana author confesses that besides these eight *gotras*, three others, *Ghṛtakauśika, Kaundanya* and *Ālamyāna,* are also met with in the *Rāḍhīya* society.[1]

Rāḍhīyas and Vārendra—There is a veritable wordy warfare between the *Rāḍhīyas* and *Vārendras* for the claim of regarding the five immigrants as their own countrymen. *Śāṇḍilya* Nārāyaṇa, *Vātsya* Dharādhara, *Kāśyapa* Suṣeṇa, *Bharadvāja* Gautama and *Sābarṇa* Parāśara whom most of the *Kulapañjikās* claim to be the earliest ancestors of the *Vārendras* appear to be the sons of the five predecessors of the *Rāḍhīyas*. It is quite possible that some of the sons of the Brahmana immigrants migrated to northern Bengal. This is quite in agreement with our location of the five villages granted by Ādiśūra in Rāḍha. But the *Rāḍhiya* and *Vārendra* quarrel does not end there. The *Vārendras* accuse the *Rāḍhīyas* of *Sapta-śatī* contamination and declare that they are the sons of the five immigrants by their *Sapta-śatī* wives. The *Rāḍhīyas* countercharge their *Vārendra* brethren with the same blemish.[2] But the

1. K. P. Bhattacharyya, Rāḍhīya kulattatva, pp. 124 – 126.

2. For the charges and counter-charges see Sambandha Nirṇaya by L. Vidyanidhi (pp. 617-634). After refuting the charges of the Vārendras, the author himself counter-charges them. The author, it needs be mentioned, was a Rāḍhīya.

plain truth is that both the groups got *Sapta-śatī* contact from very early times. But as the *Vārendras* seem to be a sectionally conscious community and as the *Rāḍhīyas* excel them in number, the *Sapta-śatī* contact was perhaps more in case of the *Rāḍhīyas*.

The descendants of the five immigrants in Rāḍha came to be known as *Rāḍhīyas* and those in Varendra as *Vārendras*. Their emergence as two separate endogamous groups was not perhaps sudden and various causes might have contributed to this. There are few instances of *Rāḍhīya* and *Vārendra* inter-marriages in the *Kula-śāstras* even at a late period,[1] but the geographical situation, political condition and difficult communications of that period did not promote such marriages. In course of time different social customs and usages grew up in two parts of Bengal and from that point of view such marriages were not perhaps liked also. Kulinism, the foundation of which is ascribed to Vallālasena by both the sections, has different history and developments in the two localities. It is difficult to say when these two sections had got separate denominations in spite of their common ancestry. Rāḍha as the name of western Bengal is mentioned in ancient books like Jaina *Acāraṅga Sūtra*, while the name Varendra is not known before the tenth century.[2] The existence of the *Rāḍhīyas* and *Vārendras* as two separate sections is definitely known for the first time from the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*[3] of Halayudha, who was the chief judge of Lakṣmaṇasena. He takes both these groups severely to task for their ignorance of the proper meaning of the Vedic *mantras*, and from his description it seems clear that the *Rādhīyas* and *Vārendras* as two separate sections were quite well-known in his time.

It may not be out of place here to note that there is no section or class of Brahmanas who are known by the territorial name of eastern Bengal, though a section of the *Kāyasthas* is called *Vaṅgaja*. Again, it would be a mistake to think that there were no Brahmanas in eastern Bengal, as the tesitmony of the four Faridpur plates, Nidhanpur and Tippera grants is conclusive on that point. In this connection it may be mentioned that the Cheedivlasa plates

1. Ibid, p. 720 ; Appendix C, p. 204.
2. See Introduction.
3. T.C. Vidyananda's edition, pp. 9-10.

of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman, son of Bhupendravarman, record grants of land to *Vaṅgaja* Brahmanas who have been described as "eager in performing sacrifices and studying Vedas, well-versed in Vedas and Vedāṅgas, and practising Dharmas as described in *Śrūtis* and *Smṛtis*"[1] It seems that the early Brahmana inhabitants managed to get into the *Rāḍhīya, Vārendra* and *Vaidika* societies of eastern Bengal and their real identity cannot be traced at all. But it is also true that many Brahmanas from western and northern Bengal migrated to eastern Bengal. The Kewar image inscription[2] records the migration of a *Vārendra Śāṇḍilya* family and from palæographical considerations this is to be assigned to the 12-13th century A.D. The Adavadi plate of Daśarathadeva refers to the settlement of a batch of Rāḍhīya Brahmanas in Vikramapura. After the occupation of western and northern Bengal by the Muslims eastern Bengal remained under the Hindu kings for about a century more[3] and it can be easily understood that with the fall of the Hindu political power in Gauḍa many Brahmanas migrated to the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms. What is important for our purpose is that in eastern Bengal, which was not their early home, the *Rāḍhīyas* and *Vārendras* could establish their superiority and the earlier Brahmanical population was absorbed in their societies.

It is stated in some *Kulapañjikās* that Bhūśūra, son of Ādiśūra, was compelled to take shelter in Rāḍha owing to the rise of the Pāla power. His son Khītiśūra is said to have granted 56 villages to the 56 descendants of the five immigrants in Rāḍha.[3] It deserves special mention that it is by the names of these villages or *gāiñs* that the Brahmanas at a later period became known. The surnames *Chatterjee, Mukherjee, Maitra, Bhaduri,* etc. are derived from the names of these villages. It is to be noted that even in the Pāla grants some of these 56 *gāiñs* have been mentioned in course of

1. Jour. Andhra. Hist. Res. Soc. II, p. 149.
2. EI. XVII, p. 356.
3. IHQ., XII, pp. 81-83.
4. VGI., I, pp. 115-127. The location of Mr. N. N. Vasu is not always correct and in some cases has proved to be wrong.

the introduction of the Brahmana donees. The donee Khodulaśarman of the Amgachi plate is described as *Matsavāsa-Vinirgata*, and and Matsyāsī is a well-known *gāiñ* of the *Kaṣṭa śrotriya Vārendra Śāṇḍilyas.*[1] The donee Vaṭeśvarasvāmī of the Manahali plate is described as *Campahīṭṭīya Campahīṭṭī vāstavya.*[2] Campatī is a well-known *gāiñ* of the *Vārendra* Śāṇḍilyas. It is known from the Bhuvanesvara *praśasti* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva that his mother belonged to a *Bandyaghāṭī* family which is an important *gāiñ* of *Rāḍhīyas.* Important is in this connection the evidence of the Adavadi plate of the 13th century in which all the Brahmana donees have been particularly introduced by their respective *gāiñs*, and all of them correspond to those named in the *Kulagranthas.*[3] Dharāśūra, another Śūra king, is said to have classified these 56 *gāiñs* into two divisions. Twenty-two were raised to the status of *Kulācala* and the remaining thirty-four became *sat-śrotriya*. It is not known on what basis this classification was made. If there be any truth underlying this, Vallālasena seems to have at least one precedent. Those who had got matrimonial connection with the *Kulācalas* commanded greater respect and honour, and inter-marriages between the two classes were not restricted.

The history of the *Vārendras* prcatically begins from Vallālasena and the *Kulaśāstras* are absolutely silent about them for the period intervening between Ādiśūra and Vallālasena. The reason is not far to seek. Northern Bengal was under the Buddhist Pālas for about four centuries with very few short breaks. No doubt the Pālas were tolerant towards other religions. But to promote the welfare of a religion by actively associating with it is one thing and to be tolerant towards a religion is another. Their granting of lands to Brahmanas can be explained by the fact that they were following the traditional policy of rewarding the learned and the pious.

1. Y.C. Chakravarty, Kulaśāstra-dīpikā, p. 84, 85, 260.

2. He was of the Kautsa gotra but Champatī is a gāiñ of the Śāṇḍilays. His pravaras were Śāṇḍilya, Asita and Devala. The last two are also the pravaras of the Śāṇḍilya gotra. It is not unlikely that this Kautsa family, having the pravaras of the Śāṇḍilyas and living in Champati, became Śāṇḍilya.

3. Bhāratvarṣa 1332 B, S., pp. 78-81, Appendix F.

The assurances in the Mongyr and Amgachi plates that Dharmapāla and Vigrahapāla III preserved the four *varṇas* in their proper order are indications of their official policy towards the Brahmanical society. As protectors of the body politic, it was their duty to see that no one should deviate from the rules of the *śāstras* and social orders. The building of new monasteries, reconstructions of old ones and huge expenditure on Buddhist establishments clearly indicate where their active sympathies lay. The *Kulaśāstras* on one or two occasions[1] refer to the gift of lands by the Pāla kings but otherwise they do not make the slightest reference to them. Strictly speaking from the point of view of the *Kulaśāstras* which were mainly concerned with the Brahmanical society, the Pāla period was a social and religious *interregnum* of which it is better not to take any cognisance at all.

Another fact also needs special emphasis. If our identification of Ādisiṁha with Ādiśūra be accepted, the Śūras seem to have originally belonged to Magadha. Sāmalavarman at whose instance the *Vaidikas* are reported to have migrated belonged to the Varman dynasty whose original seat of power was at Siṁhapura which seems to have been outside Bengal. Again, Vallālasena of the Sena dynasty who is credited with the foundation of *Kulinism* was Karnatic in origin. All the dynasties, which, according to the *Kulaśāstras,* took vigorous steps and measures in spreading the Brahmanical religion, seem to have come from outside. It appears, therefore, clear that these outside dynasties which seized political power played an important role in the Brahmanisation of Bengal. Apart from the migrations of some Brahmanas, it may be surmised that in the royal entourage and retinue from their native country that necessarily settled with the establishment of such political dynasties, there were in all probability many Brahmanical elements (lkie their domestic priests and the like) whose influence was not perhaps inconsiderable.

Vallālasena and Kulinism in Rāḍha—It is well to mention in the beginning that on the subject of the organisation of the Brahmanical society on the basis of *Kulinism* evidences come from two

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1. Ādigāṅi Ojhā, son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, is said to have received a village from Dharmapāla. It is said in some books that the Śūras fought with the Pālas.

interested parties. Those who are placed in privileged position and are consequently supporters of the system speak of some well-recognised principles on which the different grades of social standing were created. The other party or parties which are placed in an unfavourable position have fabricated stories by distorting facts which go to discredit the whole system. The fact being so, it is difficult to judge what propagandist account comes from which of these parties, because both these ponits of view have been jumbled together and the account of the *Kulapañjikās* is confused. But something is so avowedly pro-*Kulinstic* and something so manifestly anti-*Kulinstic* that their significance or motive behind them is clear to every intelligent reader.

The *Rāḍhīya Kula-mañjarī*[1] states that Vallālasena through the grace of a goddess whom he worshipped for full one year with severe austerities was in a position to understand properly the nine essential virtues that are the tests of a good and pure *kula*. They are (1) *ācāra,* ceremonial purity; (2) *vinaya,* discipline; (3) *vidyā,* learning; (4) *pratiṣṭhā,* reputation for purity; (5) *niṣṭhā,* piety; (6) *tīrtha-darśana,* zeal in pilgrimages; (7) *āvṛtti,* observance of marriages with men and women of equal rank; (8) *tapaḥ,* ascetic self-devotion; (9) *dāna,* liberality. The Sena king is said to have examined the qualifications of 750 *Rāḍhīya* Brahmanas of his time on the basis of these principles to determine their social status. Of the twenty-two *Kulācala gāiñs* of the time of Dharāśūra only eight stood all the nine tests and were raised to the status of the *mukhya kulīna* (highest in status). In the remaining fourteen all the nine qualifications were missing and became *gauṇa-kulīna* (inferior *kulīna).* On a further examination of the eight *gāiñs* selected for the highest rank, only nineteen men strictly fulfilled all the requirements and they were the recipients of the highest honour. Further, Vallālasena is said to have attempted to classify the thirty-four *śrotriya gāiñs* of Dharāśūra into two divisions, *Śuddha* and *Kaṣṭha,* according to their respective qualifications. But this was opposed by them. The *Kula-Mañjarī* gives a very graphic account of the meeting in which a party of the *śrotriyas* headed by Vikartana protested against this and left the kingdom. They questioned the royal prerogative

1. VJI., I, pp. 146-52

to judge the qualifications or disqualifications of a Brahmana. "Every Brahmana is born pure *par excellence* and no earthly deed can make him impure. This is the divine dispensation. Like fire the utterer of the Gāyatrī *mantra* is the purifier of everything." They challenged the king to cite any precedent for his proposed *Kulinism*. Indignant at this insolent conduct, the king is said to have left the meeting with the remark, "you must be satisfied with the rank of the *śrotriyas*."

The anti-party gives the following account: Vallālasena invited the Brahmanas to a meeting on a certain day to decide the question of *Kulinism*. Some came at 8-30 A.M., some at 11 A.M. and some at 1-30 P.M.. The daily duties and observances of a strict Brahmana take a long time and the presumption was that those who came earlier did not strictly observe their daily dutiies. Those who came last were regarded by the king as pure and stricttly religious and were recipients of *Kulinism*. The next batch were made *gauṇa* and the early-comers *śrotriyas*. Contrary to the well-recognised principles mentioned above, the obvious motive behind this account is to show that *Kulinism* was based on nothing else than the royal whims. So far as we know, the earliest reference to these stories is to be met with in the *Vallālacarita*,[1] a book which has been handled and rehandled many times by or for interested people like the Suvarṇavaṇikas and the Yogīs. This book, according to the confession of the interpolators, was not finally redacted before 1510 A.D., and there are sufficient reasons to disbelieve even this confession, because the sources from which the Mss. were procured are not above suspicion. But there are evidences to show that this sort of anti-propaganda was counteracted by the supporters and advocates *Kulinism* by counter-propaganda of equal nature. The section of the *śrotriyas* who revolted against the imposition of the artificial distinction settled in an intermediate tract between Midnapore and Orissa and were called *Madhyaśreṇī*, but they were called by their opposite party *Madyadoṣī*, i.e., guilty of drunkenness. This propaganda and counter-propaganda have made the confused story

1. H. P. Shastri, Vallālacarita and Eng. Trans. by him; and also Vallālacarita by Sasibhusan Bhattacharyya.

of the development of *Kulinism* worse confounded. But the very fact that one party credits Vallālasena with the organisation of the Brahmanical society on the above basis—and this still governs the higher grades of the Hindu society of Bengal even now-a-days—and that the other party without denying the fundamentals want to discredit the system itself is somewhat clear proof of the fact that some sort of social reorganisation was attempted by Vallālasena, though it is difficult to determine its nature and extent because of the different and diverse colours it has received at the hands of different writers, parties and also in popular imagination in subsequent periods.

Circumstantial evidence also goes to indicate that some social reorganisation was necessary in the Sena period. The Buddhist Pālas were ousted by the Senas, who came from the *Karṇāṭa* country and were *Brahmakṣtriyas*, i.e., originally Brahmanas who became Kṣatriyas afterwards by wielding the sceptre instead of teaching the scripture. It is natural that the royal power under them should be used for the welfare and promotion of the Brahmanical religion and society. The fact that during the long period of the Pāla rule, only seven charters recording land grants to the Brahmanas have come to light, while during the single reign of Lakṣmaṇasena no less than seven grants for the same purpose were at least issued, is perhaps a clear indication of the rising tide of the Brahmanical religion. The accession of the Brahma-Kṣatriya Senas certainly gave a fresh impetus to the Brahmanical religion whose star was perhaps already in the ascendant. It has been emphasised by late Mm. H. P. Shastri[1] that it was during the Sena period that many Buddhists were converted to the Hindu religion, and that for these new converts and adherents some castes and subcastes of Bengal were organised or reorganised and even new ones were formed.

There are positive evidences of somewhat definite character which go to affirm that the Senas were deeply interested in the reorganisation of the Hindu society. The Senas were preceded in eastern Bengal by the Varmans who also seem to have espoused the cause of Brahmanism to a great degree. The *Pāścātya Vaidikas* associate

1. H. P. Shastri's Introduction to Modern Buddhism in Orissa by N. N. Vasu, pp. 14-28.

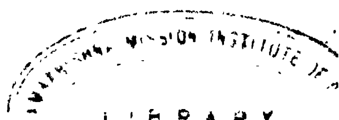
their migration with Sāmalavarman, and Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, the Brahmana minister of Harivarman, seems to have typified the spirit of assertive Hinduism over decadent Buddhism and other 'heretical' religions.[1] His *Tautātimata-ṭīkā*, a gloss on Kumāril's *Tantra-vārtikā*, and well-known *smṛti* works, *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati*, and *Prāyaścitya-prakaraṇa* are perhaps indicative of the forces employed to fight Buddhism and of the steps taken to make new converts, to regain the faltering ones and to purify the impure. Doubtless, ministers like Garga, Darbhapāṇi, Kedāramiśra, Guravamiśra, Jogadeva, Bodhideva and scholars like Prahāsa and Śrīdharadāsa, the author of *Nyāya-kandalī*, kindled Brahmanical learning and religion in all their lustre and glory during the Pāla period. But when the king of a dynasty which boasts of their zeal in the propagation of the Vedic religion to counteract the preaching of the naked ascetics[2] is styled *Dharmavijayī*[3] (applied to Harivarman) and chooses a man like Bhṭṭa Bhavadeva as his minister, it must be taken to have a special significance. It is now an admitted fact that in the Sena period there had been a renaissance of Sanskrit learning and literature. In that renaissance, it is to be specially noticed, there were a great number of *Smṛti* books, dealing with *āhṇika* (daily rites), *Saṁskāra* (periodical rites), *śuddhi* or *aśuca* (purification), *prāyaścitta* (expiations) *śraddhā* (funerals), *kṛtya* (festivals), *pūjā* (worship), *pratiṣṭhā* (consecration), *dāna* (gifts) and *kāla* (appropriate time). To refer to the *Kāla-viveka, Dāyabhāga, Vyavahāra-mātṛkā* of Jīmūtavāhana and the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva, Dvija-nayana, Śrāddhā-paddhati-ṭīkā* is to name only a few of them. The works of Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, Iśāna and Paśupati also should be taken into consideration in this connection. From the middle of the eleventh to the close of the twelfth century all these writers wrote on Brahmanical rites and observances, having the *Śrūtis* and *Smṛtis* as their authority. It seems that these psuedo-*smṛti* books were composed with a view to suit the changed social and religious condition of Bengal and the

1. Bhuvanesvar praśasti, v. 20.
2. Belava plate, v. 5.
3. Bhuvanesvar praśasti, v. 16.

growing needs of the Hindu society. What is more important to bear in mind is that all these writers were connected with the court and were liberally patronised and highly honoured. The Sena kings were not content with patronising only. Two encyclopædic works, namely the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara,* are attributed to Vallālasena. He died before the completion of the latter work which was finished by his son. It is thus clear that the Sena kings and their court actively associated themselves with the propagation of the Brahmanical rituals and observances for which so many works[1] were composed. These evidences read along with the strong tradition in the *Kulaśāstras* make it almost plain that some steps were taken to organise the Hindu society in the Sena period.

Some scholars have summarily discussed the question of social organisation by the Senas by asserting that the foundation of *Kulinism* attributed to Vallālasena cannot be credited with historicity, because there is not the slightest reference to it in the Sena grants. Deeper social and religious forces that were at work in Bengal in the twelfth century were not taken into consideration by this class of writers. But still more significant is the silence of the pseudo-*smṛti* books written by men like Halāyudha who were intimately connected with the Sena court. But this silence cannot be taken as an irreconcilable bar to the acceptance of the view that Vallālasena selected nineteen persons out of the twenty-two *gāiñs* of Dharāśūra. If that be true, there seems to have been at least one precedent for his action and there was continuity in determining the social status. It was perhaps no deviation or any departure from old rules and customs. It did not appear to be such a revolutionary or a very important measure to the contemporaries as would merit reference in the land grants in which generally the politictal and military achievements of the kings are given prominence. Nor is it to be believed that it was universally accepted by the Hindu society all at once that it would find a place in the *smṛti* books which have got the sanction of centuries behind them. When the Government of India with the advantages of modern communication and propaganda and with its elaborate administrative machinery cannot enforce all the provisions of a

1. BI, See two Appendices on the Śūras.



moderate bill like the Sarda Act for the prevention of child marriages, it is hardly to be expected that a royal decree (if that was really the case) enforcing *Kulinism* which makes some socially higher than others, was accepted by all in the twelfth century. Such a measure must have taken a long time even for recognition, not to speak of acceptance. When people from other religions were entering into the Hindu fold and the Brahmanas themselves were contaminated to a certain extent by extraneous influences, Vallālasena and Lakṣmaṇasena perhaps selected some pure and religious-minded Brahmanas who would serve as models to others by their conduct and conviction. It has been observed rightly[1] that "It is interesting to trace in Vallālaesna's inquiry the survival or reassertion of the principle as recognised in ancient tiimes, that the Brahmanhood depends not merely on birth, but also upon personal endowments. It is a question of virtue, not a question of descent. Vallālasena, of course, could not go so far as this. The time had long passed when a Kṣatriya could transform himself into a Brahmana by a penance or self-denial. But the Sena monarch sought to affirm the ancient principle, so far as was then possible, by testing the qualifications of each *Rāḍhīya* family for the priestly office and classifying them, in order of their virtue, according to the results of the examination." Vallālasena was not perhaps conscious of the fact that he was taking a step which had in it the seeds of such far-reaching importance and consequence as the complicated and elaborate system that aorse out of it had. *Kulinism* in the Muslim period underwent such radical and startling changes through extraordinay circumstances as its authors could not even dream of. Strictly speaking, Vallālasena cannot be called the founder of later day *Kulinism* though he seems to have made some beginning in that direction. The word *Kulīna* was not unknown in ancient literature and signified men of good social standing because of their learning and high heredity. In the above-mentioned nine qualifications the word *āvṛti,* which in the *Kulaśāstras* means "marriage within equal ranks" contained the germ of later day *Kulinism*. It became the back-bone of the whole system and was carried to an unhappy climax. But in Vallālasena's

1. Risley. Tribes and Castes of Bengal. Vol. I, p. 145.

time it was one of the nine qualifications. He is said to have instructed his son to take particular and special notice of it and to judge the rank of the Brahmanas with reference to it only. The *Kulīnas* must marry their girls to *Kulīnas* only and not to any one of inferior status but they themselves could marry girls of their immediate lower rank. When the *paryāya* has been fixed with reference to *āvṛtti*, *aṁśa* was to be determined, which was divided into three grades. The best is *ārti* which is gained by a man who marries his daughter to a man belonging to his father's generation. When married to one of his own generation, he gains *madhyāṁśa* and the lowest comes when married to a man of his son's generation. The generation (*paryāya*) is to be counted from the five illustrious immigrants of the time of Ādiśūra. The nine disqualifications by which *Kula* is lost are—(1) miserliness, (2) aversion to ascetic self-devotion, (3) addiction to sensual pleasure, (4) greediness, (5) illiteracy, (6) extinction of the family, (7) offering of *piṇḍa* of a living man, (8) adultery and (9) to live a bachelor. It is reported that these instructions he left for Lakṣmaṇasena for his guidance in tackling the question of *Kulinism*. It is difficult to say how far this is true but we have the incontestable and incontrovertible evidence of the *Mahāvaṁsa* of Dhruvānanda Miśra that Lakṣmaṇasena made two examinations (called *Samīkaraṇa*) for judging the status of the Kulīnas. After his first examination seven men were declared to be of equal rank and in the second fourteen others were added to the list. Of these twenty-one, seventeen were the same persons as were recipients of *Kaulinya* honour from his father and the other four were the sons of the two deceased *Kulīinas*.[1] It is also to be noted that in the *Mahāvaṁśa* the division of *aṁśa* which a *Kulīna* shared has been mentioned.

1. We are not prepared to accept the remarks in the Kulamañjarī that Lakṣmaṇasena made a further sub-divisions of ārti. and madhyāṁśa into 15 sub-divisions (see VJI, I. pp 182-4). No other book refers to this. He is said to have introduced five kinds of paribarta, viz., ādāna, pradāna, kuśa-tyāga, yoga and vara. Most of the Kulaśāstras are silent over it and there is no doubt that Kuśa-tyāga was introduced at a later period.

It has been recently suggested by some scholars[1] that the real cause behind this movement was political rather than social and religious. Those who were recipients of *Kaulinya* rank were royal favourites who helped the establishment of the Sena rule and on whom the Senas could rely for support in future. Mention must be made here of Vijayasena's marriage with a princess of the Śūra dynasty. If the *Kulaśāstras* are to be believed, the Śūras were the champions of the Brahmanical religion. The matrimonial alliance of the Śūras and Senas might have some political importance. There are instances in the history of many countries that after a period of political religious and social upheavals the new kings and rulers try to create a new social order plaint to them. *Legione de Honours* of Napoleon, the champion of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, is an instance in point. But it is difficult to say how much Vallālasena was actuated by political consideration in offering the *Kaulinya* rank to some Brahmanas. Incidental reference from *Vallālacarita* go to indicate that the political considerations might have weighed with him in degrading the status of the *Suvarṇavaṇikas* and the *Kaivartas*. The banker Vallabhānanda, the leader of the *Suvarṇavaṇika* community, refused to offer a loan to the Sena king except on certain conditions and was suspected of helping the Pāla king of Magadha with whom the Senas were at war. His community also incurred the jealously of the Brahmanas by wearing the sacred thread and by their enviable personal beauty. Vallālasena in alliance with the Brahmanas found an opportunity to degrade the mercantile community to the status of the Śūdras by a royal proclamation. The *Vaṇikas* retaliated by the prohibition of slave trading in Gauda, which seems to have been their monopoly. The *Kaivartas* were employed in domestic service and were made a clean caste by a royal order and their headman Maheśa was raised to the rank of a *mahāmāṇḍalika*. There is no doubt about the fact

1. K. P. Bhattacharyya, Rāḍhīya-Kula-tatva, p. 93; Dr. N. K. Bhattasali has gone so far as to assert that Vallālasena adopted the policy of divide and rule in order to secure his own position against possible dangers, Bhāratvarṣa, 1348 B. S., Asadha issue, under the heading Kaivartarāja Divya; also Census of India. V, Pt. I, pp. 527-28.

that the Senas were at war with the Pālas for a considerable period and that the *Vaṇikas* might have sided with the Buddhist Pālas. In the latter part of the eleventh century the Pālas were ousted from Varendra by the Kaivarta chiefs Divvoka and Bhīma, and the raising of the social status of the *Kaivartas,* when the Pāla-Sena war was not over, might have some political significance. The story of the degradation of the *Yogīs* is also interesting. The royal Brahmana priest is said to have been insulted by a *Yogī* Buddhist priest in charge of the Mahasthana religious establishment and this provoked Vallālasena's wrath on the community and hence their degradation. Judging the question from every possible sources, it seems that causes behind the social reorganisation by Vallālasena were various and it is not unlikely that contemporary political events influenced this to a certain extent.

The *Kulaśāstras* confess that the genealogies of the Brahmana families had not been properly preserved before the time of Vallālasena and this perhaps explains some of the discrepancies regarding the number of the generations of the five immigrants of the time of *Ādiśūra.* It is also not unlikely that the details regarding their migration became very dim and faint and that those *gotras* from which some Brahmanas received the *Kaulinya* rank have been associated with the name of Ādiśūra. But henceforward the genealogies are more or less correct. Great attention and care was given to preserve them, as the *Kulīna* families formed the social aristocracy of the Brahmanical society. This necessitated the rise of a professional class namely the *ghaṭakas* or match-makers, who should be properly called the *heralds.*

Vārendra Kulinism—It is said that at the time of Vallālasena there were 350 descendants of the five Brahmana immigrants brought at the instance of Ādiśūra, and the Sena king sent sixty of them to Tibet, sixty to Rabhāṅga, forty to Utkala, fifty to Magadha and forty to Mauḍāṅga.[1] It is difficult to say how much truth is there in this statement. Of the remaining 100, eight received *Kaulinya* rank, and eight *siddha-śrotriyas.*[2] Nothing more of the acti-

1. VJI. II, Varendra Brāhmana-Vivraṇa, p. 21.

2. Idid., pp. 21-25.

vity of Vallālasena with regard to the handling of the rank of the *Vārendra* Brahmanas is reported in the *Kulagranthas*. The hero of *Vārendra Kulinism* is the famous *ghaṭaka* Udayanācārya who seems to have belonged to the 14th-15th century, and his rules and regulations do not fall within the scope of this book.

The *Pāścātya Vaidikas* – The special trait of a *Vaidika* Brahmana is that he is said to be very learned in the Vedas. The *Bhavabhūmi-vārtā* by Rāghavendra Kaviśekhara[1] which is said to have been written in 1581 S.E. is the only book which states that Gaṅgāgati Miśra was the earliest *Pāścātya Vaidika* to come to Bengal from Karṇāvatī on the bank of the Sarasvatī during the reign of king Harivarman. But it is to be noted that this book became known only after the discovery of the Samantasara plate of Harivarmadeva. It is also said in that book that Gaṅgāgati Miśra induced Yaśodhara Miśra to migrate to Kotalipara (in the Faridpur district) through the offer of his daughter. All other *Pāścātya Vaidika* books are unanimous in declaring that their ancestors came on the invitation of Śyāmalavarman in 1079 A.D.. The story[2] that has been made much of is the fall of a vulture on the royal palace which was taken to be nothing but a foreboding of a coming evil. There was no competent Brahmana to perform the requisite ceremony for the prevention of this evil. At the suggestion of the queen (whose name is given in some books as Sudakṣiṇā[3] and in others as Suśīlā[4]) the king requested his father-in-law Nīlakaṇṭha, king of Kāśi (in one book[5] the name is Jayacandra), to send a competent priest for that purpose. This priestly hero is *Śaunaka* Yaśodhara Miśra who along with four other Brahmanas came to Bengal in 1001 S.E.. Again, it is also said that Yaśodhara was presented to Śyāmalavarman by his father-in-law on the occasion of his marriage.[6] The four other Brahmanas[7] of the *Śāṇḍilya,*

1. VJI, II, Vaidika Brāhmaṇa-Vivaraṇa. Intro.
2. For different versions of the story, Ibid, pp. 25-38.
3. Ibid., p. 13 16.
4. Ibid., p. 18.
5. Ibid., p. 18.
6. Ibid., p. 16.
7. There is no agreement regarding their names and gotras, Ibid, p. 41

Vaśiṣṭha, Sābarṇa and *Bharadvāja gotras* were induced by Yaśodhara Miśra to settle in Bengal in 1067 S.E.[1]

The time of their migration mentioned in the *Kulagranthas* is in agreement with the Varman chronology. As regards their allegation that there were no competent Brahmanas to perform a ceremony, it is difficult to believe that all the Brahmanas of Bengal lost their aptitude in their profession in the 11th century. It is corroborated in one way only from the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* of Halāyudha that the *Rāḍhīyas* and *Vārendras* were not acquiting themselves very creditably in that aspect.[2]

Kaulinya system in the Vaidika society is entirely of another kind but it does not fall within the scope of this work.

Other Castes—The *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa*, the internal evidence of which suggests that it was written in Rāḍha not long after the Muslim conquest,[3] deals with the origin of the so-called thirty-six castes of Bengal. It was perhaps in the mind of the author to give an account of them but in fact, he named about forty castes and divided them into three grades in accordance with the prevalent notion of his time.[4]

(1) *Uttama-Saṅkaras* (best mixed castes) who engaged Śrotriya Brahmanas as their priests. They are (1). *Karaṇa* (expert in civil service and in writing), (2) *Ambaṣṭha* (expert in medical science), (3) *Ugra* (warriors), (4) *Māgadha* (originally Kṣatriyas but now bards), (5) Gandha-Vaṇikas (trader in spices), (6) *Kaṁsa-Vaṇikas*

1. Ibid., 39

2. Halāyudha observes, "the Utkalas, Pāścātyas and others only read the Vedas, while the Rāḍhīyas and the Vārendras without reading by means of Karma-mīmāṁsā discuss only the nature of sacrificial rites in connection with the Vedas. But there can be no (proper) knowledge of the Mantras froming the soul of the Vedas.........In this way the Rāḍhīyas and Vāendras merely create improper conduct." T. C. Vidyananda's edition, pp. 9-10; see also JASB, 1915, p. 211.

3. Bhāratvarṣa, 1337 B. S., Pt. II, pp. 673 ff.

4. Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa, Vangabāsī edition.

(braziers), (7) *Śaṅkha-Vaṇikas* (shell-dressers), (8) *Kumbhakāras* (potters), (9) *Tantuvāyas* (weavers), (10) *Karmakāras* (blacksmiths), (11) *Gopas* (milkmen), (12) *Dāsas* (Cāsī-Kaivartas), (13) *Rājputas* (fighters), (14) *Nāpitas* (barbers), (15) *Modakas* (sweet-meat-makers), (16) *Varajīvīs* (growers of betel-leaves), (17) *Sūtas* (bards and reciters), (18) *Mālākāras* (gardeners), (19) *Tāmbulī* (seller of betel-leaves), (20) *Tailikas* (traders in oil).

(II). *Madhyama Saṅkaras*—mixed castes of intermediate status, (21) *Takṣa* (wood-cutters), (22) *Rajakas* (washerman), (23) *Svarṇakāras* (goldsmiths, (24) *Suvarṇa-vaṇikas* (traders in gold), (25) *Ābhīras* (milk-men), (26) *Tailakāras* (oil-pressers), (27) Dhī-*varas* (fisherman), (28) *Śauṇḍika* (wine-sellers), (29) *Naṭas* (dancers and musicians), (30) *Śavakas,* (31) *Jālikas* fishermen).

(III). *Antyajas* or outcastes—(32) *Gṛhīs,* (33) *Kudavas,* (34) *Caṇḍālas,* (35) *Badura,* (36) *Carmakāra,* (37) *Ghaṭṭajīvīs,* (38) *Dolā-vāhīs,* (39) *Malla.*

Besides, the author speaks of the *Śakadvīpī* or Devala Brahmanas from whom the *Gaṇakas* originated, and of the Mleccha tribes (non-Aryans) like *Pulindas, Kakkasas, Khaśas, Yavanas, Sauhmas, Kambojas, Śabaras* and *Kharas.*

The account of the origin of these castes is as it should be expected from an *upa-Purāṇa.* The wicked demon king Veṇa compelled men and women of different castes to procreate children. When the *Uttama-Saṅkaras* were born, he compelled them to procreate the rest. Sins and crimes were very common because of the confusion of castes and the *Ṛṣis* effected Veṇa's death through super-natural power, and the pious and good Pṛthu was created to restore order. With his help the Brahmanas fixed the proper duties and occupations of each caste. The criticism that it is an artificial systematisation composed long after the origin of castes, which is generally laid against Manu's theory, equally holds good in case of this account. The above-mentioned castes or peoples can be divided into three classes—professional, functional and ethnic or tribal. There cannot be any doubt about the fact that in a professional and functional caste there were peoples of many castes and the author of a *Smṛti* or *Purāṇa* could not otherwise explain this

state of things excepting referring to fictitious mixed breeding. These castes are doubtless of mixed origin, as peoples of many castes followed one profession or were engaged in a single occupation and then formed a caste. The words *Varṇa-saṅkara* and *Jāti-saṅkara* are important, as in case of the professional and functional castes there has been really confusion of *Varṇas* and *Jātis* in a single caste.

Appendix E.

Authorities.

The genealogical list of the *Mukherjees, Banerjees,*[1] and *Boses*[2] have been published. Two important *Kārikās* dealing with *Kulinisṁ* are attributed to Harimiśra and Eḍumiśra who are said to have flourished during the reign of Danujamādhavadeva. Their works have not yet come to light, but later writers have occasionally quoted many passages from their works. The most important work on the subject discovered so far is that of the *Mahāvaṁśa* of Dhruvānanda Miśra who composed his work in 1407 S.E.=1485 A.D.. It deals with the *Samīkaraṇas* of the *Rāḍhīya Kulīnas* from the time of Lakṣmaṇasena. The *Rāḍhīyas* have *Rāḍhīya-Kula-Mañjarī,* while the *Vārendras* have *Vārendra-Kulapañjikā.* Mr. N. N. Vasu quotes extensively from the *Kulārṇava* of Vācaṣpati Miśra but I do not know whether this work has yet been published. Maheśa Miśra's *Rāḍhīya Nirodosa-Kula-Panjikā* is also an important work. Nula Pañcānan's *Goṣṭhi-Kathā* offers a scathing criticism on the whole system. Many witty couplets on the subject transmitted in oral tradition are attributed to him. It must be noted that none

1. Mukha-Vaṁśa and Baudhya-Vaṁśa published by Mr. L. M. Mukherjee.

2. Basu-Vaṁśa by B. Roy Chowdhury; Mr. J. N. Kumar has published in his Vaṁśa-Paricaya the genealogies of many important families.

of these works excepting the *Mahāvaṁśa* has been properly edited. The Dacca University has got in its collection about twenty Mss. of various descriptions. Few of them are complete by themselves, and of some only four or five leaves remain. Mr. N. N. Vasu refers to and quotes from many books collected by him from various sources. It is reported that they amount to about 200. Mr. Vasu's voluminous works on *Castes and Sects of Bengal (Vaṅgera Jātīya Itihāsa)* in ten volumes are mainly based on them. But his works are to be utilised with caution. *Gauḍe-Brāhmana* by M. Majumdar and *Sambhandha-Nirṇaya* by L. Vidyanidhi are also important from one point of view. It is well-known that interested parties have tampered with the *Kulaśāstras*. Cases have occured that with the discovery of an inscription or an important book the genealogical list of a royal dynasty or of the author, quite in keeping with their evidence, has suddenly sprung into existence. The genealogy of the Nandī family after the publication of the Mahasthana inscription[1] and of Sandhyākaranandī, the author of the *Rāmacarita*, are instances to the point. The older books like *Gauḍe Brāhmaṇa* and *Sambandha-Nirṇaya* supply us what were really the current traditions in the 19th century. Historical researches have made considerable progress since their publication. An interested and clever person can now fabricate a story or tamper with a *Kulapañjikā* but that was not easy in the previous century. Further references to other books or authors have been cited in the footnotes.

Appendix F.

1. Forty-two *gāiṅs* of the *Saptaśatīs*.

Śagāi, Surāi, Nālsī, Yagāi, Hāsāi, Kalāi, Dhāi, Bānsi, Bānturī, Dhānsī, Kātānī, Kuśala, Ujjvala, Kāśyapa-Kāñjārī, Bātari, Pitāri, Nātāri, Beru Bāgrāi, Ulluka, Jhajhjhara, Mulluk, Pharphara, Kunduka, Kerala, Cercaru, Bālthubi, Paṁsika, Dighala Bhādaḍī, Bhaṭṭaśālī, Karañja, Tāi, Āditva, Kāmadeva, Koyāḍī, Nagaḍī, Digaḍī, Hāmasecāi, Kauṇḍinya, Bāpāri, Bārgrāi and Belāḍī.

1. JASB. N. S., XVIII, p. 489.

These forty-two are mentioned by Mr. N. N. Vasu. Mr. L. Vidyanidhi speaks of forty *gāiñs* excepting very few most of them agree. According to Vācaspati Miśra, there were only twenty-eight *gāiñs* of the *Saptaśatīs.*

2. Fifty-six *gāiñs* of the *Rāḍhīyas.* Some add Purba, Cautkhaṇḍī and Dīghal, thus making fifty-nine *gāiñs.*

Śāṇḍilyas (16) – Bandya, Gaḍgaḍ, Keśarakoṇā, Kusumakali, Parihāi, Kulabhī, Ghoṣāla, Sejagā, Māsacaṭaka, Bāḍala, Basuyāḍī, Kadala, Kuśārī, Kuliśa or Kulkuli, Ākāśa, Dīrghaṭī.

Kāśyapas (16) – Guḍa, Ambula, Bhuri, Tailabhāṭī, Pītamuṇḍī, Caṭṭa, Palsai, Haḍa, Poḍari, Pāladhi, Koyari, Pākrāsī, Simlai, Pushali of Pushilal, Bhaṭṭa, Mula.

Bharadvājas (4)–Mukhaṭī, Diṇḍisāñi, Sāhuḍiyān, Rāyī.

Sābarṇas (12)–Gāṅgulī, Kundalala, Siddhala, Dāyī, Nandī, Bāli, Śihari, Puṅgśika, Saṇḍeśvarī, Pāli, Ghaṇṭeśvarī, Nāñadī.

Vātsyas (8)–Mahintā, Ghoṣāla, Simbalāla, Bāpuli, Pippalāi, Putituṇḍa, Kāñjilāla, Kānjiāḍi.

3. The following *gāiñs* were made *Kulīnas* –

Mukhya Kulīnas (8)–Bandya, Caṭṭa, Mukhaṭī, Ghoṣāla, Putituṇḍa, Gānguli, Kāñjilāla, Kundalala.

Gauṇa Kulīnas (14)–Rāyī, Guḍa, Mahintā, Kulabhī, Cautkhaṇḍī, Pippalai, Gaḍagaḍī, Ghaṇṭśvarī, Keśarakoṇā, Diṁsāi, Parihala, Haḍa, Pītamuṇḍī, Dīrghaṭī.

The rest are *Śrotriyas.*

4. The following *gāiñs* are mentioned in the Advadi plate of Daunjamādhavadeva :– Diṇḍī Gāñi, Pāli gāñi, Seu gāñi, Māsacaṭaka, Mula, Sehandāi, Puti, Mahantiyāḍa, Karañja gāñi.

5. Hundred gāiñs of the *Vārendras* –

Vātsayas (24)–Sānnyāla, Bhīmkalī, Bhaṭṭaśālī, Kāmkali, Kuḍamuḍī, Bhāriyāla, Lakṣa, Jāmrukhī, Simli, Dhosāli, Tanuri, Vatsagrāmī, Deuli, Nidrāli, Kukkuṭī, Bodhagrāmī, Śrutobaṭī, Akṣagrāmī, Sāhari, Kaligrāmī, Kalihal, Pauṇḍrakalī, Kālindī, Chaturbandī.

Bharadvājas (24)–Bhādaḍa, Lāḍulī, Jhāmal, Jhampatī, Ātur-

thī, Rāi, Ratnāvalī, Uccharakhī, Gocchasī, Bāla, Śakāṭi, Simbi, Bahal, Sāriyāla, Kṣetragrāmī, Dadhiyāla, Puti, Kācchṭī, Nandīgrāmī, Gogrāmī, Nikhaṭī, Pippalī, Śrīṅga, Khorjar, Goswalambi.

Sābarṇas (20)—Siṁgdiyaḍa, Pākaḍī, Dadhi, Śriṅgi, Medadi, Undhuḍi, Dhundhuri, Tatoyar, Setu, Naigrāmī, Nedhuḍī, Kapāli, Tutturi, Pañcabaṭī, Nikaḍi, Samudra, Ketugrāmī, Jaśogrāmī Sitalī.

Kāśyapas (18)—Maitra, Bhāduḍī, Karañja, Bālayaṣṭhī, Modhāgrāmī, Balahāri, Moyāli, Kiral, Bījikuñja, Saragrāmī, Katigrāmī, Saragrāmī, Madhyagrāmī, Maṭhagrāmī, Gaṅgagrāmī, Belagrāmī, Chamagrāmī, Aśukoṭi.

Śāṇḍilyas (14)—Rudrabāgchi, Lāhiḍī, Sadhubāgchi, Campaṭī, Nandanabāsī, Kāmendra, Sihari, Taḍoyālabisī, Matsyāsī, Champa, Suvarṇa, Toṭaka, Puṣaṇa, Beluri.

6. The following *gāiñs* were made *Kulīnas* by Vallālasena.

Lāhiḍī, Bāgchi, Bhāduḍī, Maitra, Sānnyāla.

Bhādaḍa became *Kulīna* for the sake of metre. The *gāiñ* of another man cannot be stated precisely.

Siddhya Śrotriyas—Karañja, Nandanabāśī, Bhaṭṭaśālī, Lāḍulī, Campaṭī, Jhampaṭī, Āturthī, Kalihal.

Sādhya Śrotriyas—Uccharakalī, Jāmrukhī, Ratnāvalī Sihari, Rāi, Goswalambi, Biśī, Khorjarḍ.

The rest are *Kaṣṭa Śrotriyas*.

7. The different dates of the migration of the five Brahmanas through the instrumentality of Ādiśūra :—

The *Vārendra Kulapañjikā* places it in *vedakalaṅkaṣaṭavimite* i.e., in 654 S.E.; Vācaspati Miśra *vedabāṇāṅgaśake* i.e., in 654 S.E.; and the *Kularṇava* in *vedabāṇahīmeśāke*. The *Kulatattvārṇava* place it in 675 S.E.; the *Vallālacarita* in 954 S.E. .

CHAPTER X

RELIGIOUS CONDITION

Jainism—The districts of Manbhum, Singhbhum, Birbhum and Burdwan derive their names from Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna.[1] Of the 24 Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras* no less than 20 attained *Nirvāṇa* on the Sametśikhara *(Samādhi-śikhara)* in the Paresnath Hill in the Hazaribagh district. It is narrated in the *Āyāraṅga Sutta*[2] that Mahāvīra had to undergo much suffering and hardship in Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi in Rāḍha. It was difficult to travel in the country and the natives treated the ascetics very cruelly. They incited dogs to bite them and the ascetics had to carry bamboo staves to keep off the dogs. It seems, therefore, that western Bengal felt the tide of the rise of Jainism at the time of Mahāvīra.

The *Vṛhatkathākoṣa* of Harisṣena, written in 931 A.D., records that the famous Jaina pontiff Bhadrabāhu, the preceptor of the Maurya emperor Candragupta, was the son of a Brahmana of Devakoṭa in the Puṇḍravardhana country. One day when Bhadrabāhu was at play with other children at Devakoṭa Govardhana, the fourth *Śrutakevalī*, happened to see him and perceived that the boy was destined to be the next *Śrutakevalī*. He took charge of him with his father's consent, and the boy afterwards succeeded him as the great Jaina pontiff. Whatever may be the truth underlying the story of killing 18,000 people in Puṇḍravardhana for the crime of a *Nirgrantha in the Divyāvadāna,* it tends to show that there were many Jainas in northern Bengal in the 3rd century B.C.

1. IHQ., IV, p. 44; SPP, 1322, p. 5; JBORS., 1927, p. 90.

2. SBE., XXII, pp. 85-5. That Puṇḍravardhana was a Jaina centre at the time of Buddha is corroborated by the story of Sumagadhā, daughter of Anāthapiṇḍaka (Sumāgadhāvadāna in the Bodhi Sattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā, Bengali translation by S. C. Das. pp. 768-779).

Aṅga and Magadha are the eastern countries that occur in the list of *Solaśa-mahājanapadas* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*. The 15th chapter of the Jaina *Bhagavatī Sutta* also gives a list of sixteen countries, and the occurrence of the names of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Lāḍha (Rāḍha) in it shows that the Jainas had more acquaintance with Bengal than the Buddhists in an early period. The *Kalpasūtra* mentions four *śākhās* of the *Godāsagana* of the Jaina monks as Tāmalittyā, Koḍivarṣiyā, Poṁdavardhaniyā and (Dāsī) Khabbaḍiyā.[1] Tāmralipti, Koṭivarṣa and Puṇḍravardhana are in Midnapore, Dinajpur and Bogra districts respectively, and Khabbaḍiya has been identified with the principality of Kharvāṭa in western Bengal. The Jaina *Upāṅgas*, redacted in *c*. 454 A.C. but preserving earlier traditions, include Tāmalitta and Vaṅga among Aryan lands, as opposed to Milikka (=Mleccha or barbarian) peoples like Śaka, Yavana[2] etc. All these literary references go to show unmistakably that there had been considerable proselytising activity by the Jainas since the days of Mahāvīra, and Jainism had got strongholds almost in every part of Bengal. If the maltreatment of the ascetics narrated in the *Āyāraṅga Sutta* is to be believed, the Jainas seem to have met with much opposition from the natives. But the spread of the religion over the whole country shows that they were ultimately successful in their mission.

Though we do not know of any royal patron like Candragupta Maurya of Khāravela after the Christian era, Jainism did not lose much ground in Eastern India, as it is generally believed. A Mathurā inscription[3] records the erection of a Jaina image in the year 62 of an unspecified era (=140 A.D.?) at the request of a Jaina monk of Rārā (Rāḍha?). The Paharpur plate of 159 G.E.[4] records the gift of some land by a Brahmana couple for the maintenance of worship with sandal, incense, flowers for the *arhats* at the *vihāra* of Vaṭ-Gohāli. This *vihāra* was presided over by the disciples of the disciples of the *Nirgrantha* preceptor Gūhanandin, belonging to the *Pañcastūpa* section of Benares. The evidence of the Paharpur

1. SBE., XXII, p. 288, also Kalpasūtra by Jacobi, p. 79; for the location of Khabbadiyā or Kharvāṭa see IHQ., VIII, pp. 529-30.

2. IA., 1891, pp. 374 ff.

3. JASB., V, p. 239.

4. EI., XX, 639.

plate, read along with the account of Yuan Chwang, testifies to the fact that Puṇḍravardhana, as a great Jaina centre, maintained its position at least up to the first half of the seventh century A.D.

Yuan Chwang's observations on the religious condition of India are, no doubt, of great importance for the proper understanding of the relative position of the important religions of the time. But it must be noted that in his account the details about all other religions excepting Buddhism are lacking and that he speaks of the *Nirgranthas* rather incidentally and summarily. The fact being so, the Buddhist pilgrim was constrained to remark that in Vaiśalī, Puṇḍravardhana, Samataṭa and Kaliṅga—all in Eastern India—the *Nirgranthas* were numerous. It is, therefore, clear that in these regions the Jainas had the largest number of adherents in the seventh century. The Chinese traveller does not refer to the *Nirgranthas* of the other localities specifically, but when he says that other religions live in pell-mell, it is to be understood that Jainas were included in them. His silence cannot be taken to mean that there were no Jainas in other parts of Eastern India. Thus in his description of Rājagṛha no mention is made of the Jainas, but he found many *Nirgranthas* near a tope *(stūpa)* on the Vipula mountain on the spot where Budha once preached. 'Many *Digambaras* now lodge here and practise austerities incessantly ; they turn round the sun, watching it from its rising to its setting.'[1] Rājagṛha, famous both in Buddhist and Jaina literature, is still a place of pilgrimage to the Jainas. A considerable number of Jaina images lie scattered in or about this place.[2]

We are quite in the dark about the state of this religion in Bengal after the seventh century. Its history, disappearance or absorption by another religion, is wrapt in complete obscurity. The fate of two other rival religions or sects is interesting and instructive in this connection. Whatever might have been the relation between Mahāvīra and Makhaliputta Gosāla at first, it is admitted by all

1. Watters on Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, p. 154.

2. ASIR., 1925.26, pp. 146 ff.

that as founders and champions[1] of two rival religions, their relation at a later period was far from being friendly, if not one of bitter rivalry and heinous propaganda against each other. The Jainas refer to Gosāla and his followers not in very honourable terms. If the *Bhagavatī* account of Gosāla and Mahāvīra is to be believed, they lived together for six years in Paṇitabhūmi, which was, according to some Jaina commentators, in Vajjabhūmi, one of the divisions of Rāḍha.[2] Mahāvīra in course of his wanderings in Rāḍha found ascetics carrying bamboo staves in their hands, who, in accordance with Pāṇini's description of *maskarin*, are to be identified with the Ājīvika ascetics and were also active in propagating their religion in western Bengal in the 6th century B.C. Maurya kings like Aśoka, Daśaratha and prince Vītaśoka sometimes patronised the Ājīvikas. The Nāgārjuni and Barabar caves[1] go to show that the Ājīvikas had got a fair number of followers in Eastern India in the 3rd century B.C.[3]

The *Bhagavatī* refers to a king of Mahāpauma of Puṇḍa, a patron of the Ājīvikas. Puṇḍa is said to be at the foot of the Viñjhā mountains and Mahāpauma's capital is described as having hundred gates.[4] The very name Puṇḍa suggests that it was most probably Puṇḍra. Whatever may be the truth underlying the episode that Aśoka put to death 18,000 Ājīvikas in Puṇḍravardhana for the crime of a *Nirgrantha*, it unmistakably shows that it was also a centre of the Ājīvikas. But the most important point in this episode is that the Ājīvikas were mistaken for the *Nirgranthas*, and there are other

1. For relation with Mahāvīra and Gosāla, see Ch. on Jāinism in CHI and also the excellent paper on the Ajīvikas in JDL, II, by Dr. B.M. Barua.

2. Ibid., p. 57, SBE., XXII, p. 264, Note. 4, It is a to be noted that other Jaina books have Paiśācabhūmi instead of Panitabhūmi. (See Mr. U. D. Barodia's History and Literature of Jainism.)

3. JBORS., XII, p. 58.

4. Dr. Barua identifies Puṇḍa with Pāṭaliputra because Mahāpauma's capital is described with hundred gates p. 67; cf. Megasthenes, description of Pāṭaliputra.

passages in the *Divyāvadāna*[1] in which the Ājīvikas have been confounded with the Jainas. We are, therefore, inclined to accept Dr. B. M. Barua's opinion that at the time of the composition of the *Divyāvadāna* 'the meaning of the confounding of the Ājīvikas with the Jainas is that the two sects living side by side at Puṇḍravardhana differed so slightly from each other, whether in their views or in their outward appearances, that it was difficult for a Buddhist observer to draw any sharp distinction between them.' In Southern India the Ājīvikas were regarded by the Jaina authors as a sect of the Buddhist *bhikṣus*.[2] It is quite natural to think that there were many Ājīvikas whom Yuan Chwang also confounded with the Jainas or at his time they became identical with the Jainas to all intents purposes and lived completely absorbed in Jainism, as the followers of Devadatta were living absorbed in Buddhism at Karṇasuvarṇa, only retaining their individuality in the matter of taking food. Broadly speaking, the differences between the Ājīvikas and the Jainas were not very fundamental. Amalgamation was perhaps possible when the initial bitterness was over and it was also possibly necessary in view of the vigorous activity of other rival religions in the field. Devadatta, the veritable Satan of the Buddhist *Jātakas*, was the founder of a sect, differing only in very minor points from Buddha[3] but it was, according to the testimony of Yuan Chwang, living within the bosom of Buddhism in the seventh century, and to a non-Buddhist it was then nothing but Buddhism, pure and simple. Although proofs are still lacking, it may be surmised that Jainism was at a later period absorbed by Buddhism and by the different sects of the Brahmanical religion. The Paharpur monastery which seems originally to have been a Jaina establishment was at a later period converted into a Brahmanical one and finally into a Buddhist *Vihāra*, the famous Somapura-*vihāra* of northern Bengal. Mallikārjuna Sūri, the celebrated writer on astrology, who flourished in Vaṅga in the 12th cen-

3. Dr. Barua, Op. Cit. P. 65.

4. IA., 1912, pp. 88ff.

1. Isan Ghose's Bengali translation of the Jātakas, Vol 1. Appendix, pp.214-6 ; IA., 1923, p. 267 ; 1924, p. 125,

tury A.D., seeems to have been a Jaina,[1] but in his books he pays homage to the Hindu gods Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa.

Nothing is known of the existence of Jainism after Yuan Chwang's account excepting a few images of Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras*. The Jaina images are not so rare in Bengal, as has been observed by late Mr. R. D. Banerjee[2] who could number four of them only. The exploration of a certain part of the Sunderbans by Mr. K. D. Mitra has brought to light no less than ten Jaina images.[3] The fact that so many Jaina images have been found in one part of the Sunderbans, read along with the evidence of the Barrackpore plate of Vijayasena.[4] tends to lead to the conclusion that north-western Sunderbans were also included in the old principality of Samataṭa where Yuan Chwang saw the preponderance of the *Nirgranthas*. A careful investigation in the districts of Birbhum and Bankura, where occasional finds of Jaina images are reported[5] and which fall within the region which Mr. R. D. Banerjee calls the 'Jaina zone of influence,'[6] may add to the known numbers of the sculptural remains of the Jainas in Bengal. Of about twenty-five images so far discovered only one belongs to the *Śvetāmbaras*. This would go to indicate that the *Śvetāmbaras* had a very small following and that the *Digambaras* had a greater number of adherents. The images of *Ṛṣabhanātha, Ādinātha, Neminātha, Śāntinātha* and *Pārśvanātha* have been found, those of the last being more popular. The image of Ṛṣabhanātha in the VRSM. from

1. The very name ending in-Sūri suggests that he was a Jaina. The Jainas and the Ajīvikas were famous for their proficiency in Astrology, Beal, II. p. 168 ; also see Dr. Barua's paper and Mr. P. C. Sen's paper, Vicitrā, 1340 B. S., pp. 659 ff. Dr. B Dutta takes Mallikārjuna Sūri to be a Hindu because of his paying homage to Hindu god. SPP, 1310 B. S, p. 83.

2. ESMS., p. 144.

3. VRSR, 1921-29, 1930-31, Antiqnties of Khari and antiquities of North-Western Sunderbans.

4. IHQ.. XII, p. 67.

5. ASIR., 1921-22, pl. XXIXD. Birbhūma-vivaraṇa, p. 188 ; another Jaina image in Saptagrāma, JASB., 1909, pp. 239, 245.

6. R. D. Banerjee, Op. Cit.

7. VRSR., Op. Cit., 1928-29.

Surhor in Dinajpur[1] is interesting from the iconographical point of view and deserves more than a passing notice. The central figure with the perfect meditative pose, the oval nimbus over the head, the attendants with fly-whisks, the flying couples of Vidyādharas with garlands, the umbrella between 4 pairs of hands, indication of celestial offerings, resembles in many respects a seated Buddha image of the Pāla period. The perfect nudity of the figure, the bull, the emblem of Ṛṣabhanātha, and the presence of 23 *tīrthaṅkaras* who have come as if to pay their homage on the occasion of the installation of this remarkable image are clear indications of the fact that it was a Jaina image. In the representation of 24 *tīrthaṅkaras* in the Hanumān cave at Khandagiri the *vāhanas* of Sumatinātha, Supārśvanātha and and Anathanātha are *krauñca, svasti* and *śyena* respectively and this is also the direction in Hemacandra's *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi.* In this image the *lāñchanas* are the dog, wheel and bear.[2] Most probably the Bengal school followed a different manual in the representation of the *tīrthaṅkaras.*

From stylistic considerations all the Jaina images may be assigned to the Pāla period. The small number of Jaina images in comparison with the large number of the Buddhist and Brahmanical images is perhaps indicative of the fact that Jainism was losing ground in the Pāla period. It is known from the *Vasantavilāsa*[3] that Vastupāla (1219-1233 A.D.), minister of Cālukya Vīradhavala, who went on a pilgrimage, was attended by the *Saṅghapatis* from Lāṭa, Gauḍa, Maru, Dharā, Avantī and Vaṅga. It is important to notice from this incidental evidence that even in the 13th century there were heads of organised associations of the Jainas in Gauḍa and Vaṅga, however small their influence might have been in this period.

Buddhism—Bengal was the last strong-hold of Buddhism in India, but it is very strange that it has been very rarely referred to

1. Ibid., 1933-34.

2. This iconographical point of difference was first noticed by Mr. N. B. Sanyal.

3. Vasantavilāsa, Sarga X

in early Buddhist literature. It has been mentioned in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*[1] that Buddha once lived at Śetaka, a town of the Sumbhās; and it has been suggested that they may be the Suhmas of western Bengal.[2] A Buddhist teacher Upasena has been described as Vaṅgānaputto in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*,[3] and it has been suggested on the analogy of such epithets as Videhaputto and Mallaputto that Upasena was originally perhaps an inhabitant of Vaṅga. No locality or city seems to have gained high recognition or to have been of much importance to the early Buddhists, and it is also doubtful whether in these two cases there has been really any reference to Bengal.

The story of Sumāgadhā, daughter of Anāthapiṇḍaka, narrates how Buddha came to preach in Puṇḍravardhana at the instance of this pious and devoted lady.[4] According to Yuan Chwang, Buddha is said to have preached in that city for three months and in Samataṭa for seven days and also in Karṇasuvarṇa. In these localities the pilgrim also saw the places where past Buddhas walked. But in spite of these allusions to Buddha's personal ministration in Yuan Chwang's account, it is doubtful whether Budha really came in person, though it may be that Buddhism was making some headway in Bengal during his life-time.

It seems that there were vigorous attempts at proselytising activities during the reign of Aśoka. Yuan Chwang saw many Aśokan topes at Puṇḍravardhana, Samataṭa, Tāmralipti and Karṇasuvarṇa. The vigorous religious propaganda of the Maurya emperor naturally produced its effects. The recently discovered Mahasthan inscription[5] which is to be palæographically assigned to the Maurya period records that oil, tree, paddy and small coins *(gandhaka* and *kākaṇikā)* were ordered to be stored for the *saḍvargikas* in case of emergencies due to

1. W. 89, 168-170.
2. Dr Majumdar, Early History of Bengal p. 8.
3. 1. XIV. 8.
4. Bodhi-Sattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā Bengali Translation by S. C. Das, pp. 768-779.
5. IHQ., 1934, p. 54. We follow Dr. B. M. Barua's interpretation of this inscription.

water, fire, parrots. Oil was to be conveyed from Puṇḍranagara. This store-house was not far from the Puṇḍravardhana city, the find-spot of this epigraph. Although the fact by whom this order was made is not known, it seems that like the Sohagaura plate this was also an official direction. The *Saḍvargiyas* have been identified with the *Chabhagiyas* of the Vinaya texts, who formed a 'Band of six men with their adherents' and who are said to have acted always contrary to the intent and purpose of the Vinaya discipline. The *Chabhagiyas,* like the followers of Devadatta, might have differed on some points of discipline, which the strict followers of the Vinaya texts did not like and approve. What is important for our purpose is that as early as the Maurya period Puṇḍravardhana became a centre of activity of the *Chabhagiyas,* so much so that provisions were to be made for meeting their emergencies. There are also evidences to show that pious Buddhists from Puṇḍravardhana visited the holy and sacred sites like Sanchi.[1]

A Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription[2] which is to be palæographically assigned to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. states that Vaṅga was one of the countries that gladdened the hearts of the Therāvādin teachers. That the Sthavira school flourished in eastern Bengal is also confirmed by Yuan Chwang, when in the description of Samataṭa the Chinese traveller observes that it had 30 Buddhist monasteries and above 2000 Brethren, all adherents of the *Sthavira* school. The Gunaighar plate[3] of Vainyagupta, dated in 508 A.D., records the grant of land to a congregation of Buddhist monks belonging to the *Mahāyāna* sect in the Tippera district.

From Yuan Chwang's account it appears that at the time of his visit the three principal religions, viz. Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, had each a fairly large number of adherents in Bengal. The details about Buddhism left by him may be noted here. In Kajangal (modern Rajmahal) there were six or seven monasteries and above 300 Brethren. In Puṇḍravardhana there were 20 monasteries and above 3000 Brethren and both the Great and Little

1. EI., II, p. 108, 380.
2. EI., XX, p. 23.
3. IHQ., 1930, pp. 40 ff.

vehicles were followed. In Samataṭa there were more than 30 monasteries and above 2000 Brethren, all of the *Sthavira* school. In Tāmralipti there were above 10 monasteries and more than 1000 Brethren. In Karṇasuvarṇa there were more than 10 monasteries and above 2000 Brethren who were all adherents of the *Samatīya* school. There were also three monasteries in which in accordance with the teaching of Devadatta milk products were not taken as food. Besides, there were two Universities—one in Puṇḍravardhana and another in Karṇasuvarṇa.

It seems from the accounts of the Chinese travellers that Buddhism was declining in Tāmralipti. In Fa-hien's time there were 22 monasteries in all of which monks resided.[1] In Yuan Chwang's time the number of monasteries were ten and I-Tsing saw only five or six.[2] He has left a graphic account of the University of Bhā-rā-hā in Tāmralipti. But Buddhism increased its influence in Samataṭa. In I-Tsing's time the number of monks rose from 2000 of Yuan Chwang's to 4000. The increasing influence of Buddhism within fifty years was perhaps due to the ardent and vigorous support of the Khaḍga dynasty which ruled in Samataṭa within the period between 625 and 725 A.D. All the known independent kings of Bengal before the middle of the seventh century were followers of the Brahmanical religion. The Khaḍgas were devoted Buddhists, and we are fortunate to have a picture of the flourishing condition of Buddhism and of the part played by Rājabhaṭa[3] in its propagation at the time of Seng-chi. "He was an ardent worshipper of three jewels and played the part of a grand *upāsaka*. His sincerity was profound and faith very great. His glory exceeded that of his predecessors. Every day he made 100,000 statues in moulded clay and read 100,000 stanzas of *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-sūtras* and made use of 100,000 fresh flowers....." When the royal party went, an image of Avalokiteśvara was placed in the front. His banners and standards concealed the sun, and instrumental

1. Legge, p. 100.
2. Takakasu, Intro. xxxiv.
3. Chavannes at first restores the text as Harṣabhaṭa but in a foot-note says that it may be constructed as Rājabhaṭa.

music filled the space. The statues of Buddhas, *bhikṣus* and *upāsakas* all marched in front and the king followed behind them. In the capital city there were more than 4000 monks and nuns. All these were entertained by the king. Every morning royal messengers went to them and said, "I am commanded to ask if you have passed a good night." The monks and nuns replied, "We hope His Majesty is in good health. May he live long and his kingdom remain in peace." Only after these messengers had come back and reported, did the king begin to transact the business of the state. The best and most learned *bhikṣus* in the whole of India were assembled in this kingdom, being attracted by the renown of the king, which reached far and wide."[1] Seng-chi himself lived in the royal temple and received extraordinary honour. It is, therefore, no accident that Śīlabhadra, a scion of a royal family of Samataṭa, rose to the exalted position of the head of the Nālandā monastery and under his tutelage Yuan Chwang was placed,[2] and to his learning and liberality the pilgrim pays glowing tribute.

Tantrikism—The *Tantras* claim great antiquity. The Hindu *Tantras* claim origin from the *Vedas*,[3] while the Buddhists trace the Tantrik doctrines to the *Mudrās, Mantras Maṇḍalas, Dhāraṇīs* and *Yoga*, as preached and practised by Buddha.[4] But no avowedly early Tantrik books like the *Guhya-samāja, Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*[5] and the *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya* can be placed before the 7th century A.D. It seems that from the 7th or 8th century onward both the Brahmanical and Buddhist religions were greatly influenced by Tantrikism. It is said in an early Jaina book[6] that Śabaras, Drāviḍas, Kaliṅgas, Gauḍas and Gāndhāras succeed by occult sciences.

1. I am thankful to Dr. R. C. Majumdar for translating the relevant portion from Chavannes' 'Memorie les Religien eminents' pp. 128-29.

2. Beal, Life pp. 158-60.

3. IHQ., IX, pp. 1 ff.

4. Sādhanamālā, Intro. pp. XVI ff.

5. IHQ., IX, pp. 1 ff.

6. SBE., Vol. XLV, Sutrākṛtaṅgas, p. 366.

In the description of the centres of Tantrikism in the *Sammola Tantra*[1] Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga are mentioned first.

It is very difficult to define Tantrikism. MM. H. P. Shastri[2] expressed the opinion that "The word *Tantra* is very loosely used. Ordinarily people understand by it any system other than the *Vedas*.... the union of male and female energy is the essence of *Tantra*." Winternitz[3] holds that the term "*Tantra* ought to be restricted to the texts connected with śakti worship." This is, no doubt, one of the main aspects of the Tantrika literature. *Śaivas* look upon this union of male and female energy as that of Śiva and Śakti, the *Sāṁkhyas*, of Puruṣa and Prakṛti, and the Vajrayānists, of Boddhicitta and Nirātmā (śūnya) or Upāya and Prajñā. Besides this abstruse philosophy, we find various other topics discussed in the *Tantras*, viz. the story of the creation, royal duties, social customs, male and female characteristics, curing of deseases, *mantras* for the extraction of snake-poison and even the introduction of the smoking of tobacco in human society. Above all, the *Tantras* are the repository of the esoteric beliefs and practices. In course of time the *Tantras* have become the encyclopædias of knowledge of varied kinds. Tantrika goddesses like Ekjaṭā and Mahācīnatārā seem to be of foreign origin, and it is quite likely that every Tantrika doctrine or practice was not of indegenous growth.[4]

In the *Tantras* the *mantras* have very special significance. Like the muttering of the name of Hari by the modern Vaiṣṇavas, they are thought to be highly efficacious. The *mantras* are the "verbal expression of the idea of god." Almost every god has a *mantra* of his own and to the uninitiated the *mantras* appear to be meaningsless strings of letters. An instance may be taken. The eight thousand couplets of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-śāstra* after successive abbreviations and condensations were reduced to the syllable '*Pra*,' which is the *Bīja mantra* of the goddess *Prajñāpāramitā*. The proper muttering of the *mantras* not only helped spiri-

1. IHQ., VII, p. 8.
2. Intro. to N. N. Vasu's Modern Buddhism in Orissa, p. 10.
3. IHQ., IX, p. 4.
4. Ibid., VII, pp. 1 ff.

tual success but also could prove helpful in mundane affairs, as *māraṇa* (destruction of enemies) and *ākarṣaṇa* (attracting). The *Tantras* advocate the worship of gods and goddesses in *Yantras* (instruments, more properly magic diagrams). Some of the Tantrika *Yantras* in stone with figures of gods and goddesses have come to light. The devotee is to concentrate on the *Yantra* his mind which is fastened to the object of worship. The full correspondence between the mind and the body was aimed at. The intellectual process was supplemented by physical discipline to be attained by *Yogas* of various kinds like the controlling of senses and breathings.

It is quite natural that in such a mystic system the role played by the *guru* (preceptor) was a very important one, and the *Tantras* realise it. For the proper understanding of the *mantras* and for correct application of esoteric practices, initiation by, and the guidance of, a guru were enjoined as absolutely essential. People irrespective of caste, creed and sex were initiated. The use of *Pañca-Makāras*[1] were sometimes advocated for attainment of *siddhi.* There were three distinct stages of *sādhanā*, viz., *śuddhi* (purification), *sthiti* (illumination) and *arpaṇa* (unification), and there were three classes of *sādhakas* (devotees), viz. *Paśu, Vīra* and *Divya.*[2] It was the duty of the *guru* to prescribe to his initiates their mode of *sādhanā* according to their mental and spiritual capacities. If any disciple misused the mode of worship for his physical enjoyment, he was severely taken to task and the *guru* was also held responsible to a certain extent for his degeneration. The disciple was regarded as a spiritual son of his preceptor and was sometimes named after the *guru* after his initiation. In Tantrika *sādhanā* the devotee was identified with the deity and the preceptor enjoyed a higher status than the deity itself.

Divergent views have been expressed as to the valuation of Tantrikism. It has been claimed that it is the greatest contribution of India to the world[3] and that the Tantrika method of *sādhanā*

1. They are madya, māṁsa, matsya, mūdrā and maithuna
2. Dr. N. K. Brahma, Philosophy of Hindu Sādhanā, p. 291.
3. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism, see concluding remarks.

combines in it "*yoga, bhakti, mantra, homa* (oblation), *jñāna* and *karma* and can be best studied as the "synthesis of all that was good in the various forms of *sādhanā* in vogue and as such its claim to be the shortest route to the *summum bonum,* and its promise to its adherents of the easy and speedy attainment of the end are perhaps justified."[1] On the other hand it has been condemned[2] as the most revolting and horrible practice that human depravity could think of, and compared with which the worst specimens of Holiwell Street Literature of the last (18th) century would appear absolutely pure. But the plain truth is that the vast Tantrika literature has not been adequately studied with the care and attention that it deserves and it remains yet an enigma to us. We may hope with Avalon that the true spirit of scholarship will endeavour to be just.[3] There remains enough to show that Tantrikism necessitated multiplicity of gods and goddesses and "satisfied everybody, the cultured and the uncultured, the pious and habitual sinners, the lower and the higher ranks of people and devotees."[4]

The Buddhist Pantheon—The study of the later Buddhist religion has been simplified by the publication of the *Sādhanamālā,*[5] a special class of literature dealing with the Buddhist pantheon. This literature was mostly written in the monasteries of Bengal and Bihar, and the Buddhist images so far discovered answer in most cases to their descriptions in the *Sādhanās.* The task is made easier by the fact that the Buddhists were scientific in the classification of their gods and goddesses, most of whom were affiliated to a particular family of the five Dhyānī Buddhas.

Dhyānī Buddhas and Bodhisattvas—The conception of five Dhyānī Buddhas and their association with their female counterparts (śaktis) are for the first time met with in the *Guhyasamāja Tantras*[6] and *Jñānasiddhi*[7] of Indrabhūti, none of which can be at

1. Dr. N. K. Brahma, Op. Cit. p. 275.
2. R. Mitra, Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, p. 261.
3. Tantrik Texts, VII, Forward, pp. IV-V.
4. Sādhanamālā, intro., p. xxxvi.
5. Our thanks are due to Dr. B. Bhattacharyya for his painstaking work in this direction and we follow him in the main.
6. GOS, No. LIII, Intro., p. xi. 7. BD. Icon., Intro. p. xxv.

present assigned before the 8th century. They are Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi and Akṣobhya. Later on Vajrasattva was added, thus raising the number to six, and in Nepal Vajrasattva is the priest of five Dhyānī Buddhas. Dhyānī Buddhas generally appear as the sires of other gods and goddesses and their separate representatioin is rare. Only two images of Ratnasambhava are known so far.[1] The VRSM. specimen[2] is from Vikrampur and the VSPM. one[3] from Bhagalpur. Only one image of Vajrasattva with an inscription in the tenth century script has been discovered from Sukhavaspur,[4] Dacca. The six Divine Bodhisattvas are Sāmantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi, Ratnapāṇi, Padmapāṇi, Viśvapāṇi and Ghaṇṭāpāṇi and they are affiliated to the six Dhyānī Buddhas. Three images of Vajrapāṇi come from Bihar[5] but none from Bengal. It is quite possible that the images described in the VRSC as Bodhisattva, Lokanātha, Padmapāṇi[6] are those of this Divine Bodhisattva. Images of Maitreya, the Buddhist Messiah, are not very rare in Bihar and Bengal. He is represented separately either standing[7] or seated[8] and also appears in the company of seven mortal Buddhas.[9]

Ādi-Buddha—The conception of Ādi Buddha or Primordial Buddha cannot be traced in literature[10] earlier than the 10th century. In the later Buddhist pantheon he occupies the highest place, for it is said that the five Dhyānī Buddhas originated from him.[11] In Nepal he is called Sayambhū and the *Vṛhat-svayambhū-purāṇa* deals with his cult. Again, some identified Akṣobhya with Ādi-Buddha.[12] According to Getty,[13] Prajñāpāramitā is his Śakti and he is to be

1. JASB., 1926, 169 ff.
2. No. A (a) 6/138.
3. No. C (a) 6/271.
4. DMC., No. 1A (1) a/1.
5. Bd. Icon., Pl. XIIbc ; IM. Nos. 3784, 3785,
6. VRSC. A (b) 6/165.
7. ASIR. 1929-30, Pl. XLIII f. from Jhewari, Chittagong ; VRSC. No. A (b) 13/361.
8. An excellent image from Biswanpur Tandwa, Bihar, ESMS, Pl. XXXIIb.
9. IM, B.G., Nos. 88, 133.
10. Bd. Icon. Intro. pp. XVII-XVIII
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Gods of Northern Buddhism, p. 3.

represented as a 'crowned Buddha' with ornaments and princely garments. Many crowned images of Buddha have been found in Bengal and Bihar, and their identification with the saintly Śākyasiṁha in monkish robe has been questioned.[1] According to Mr. N. G. Majumdar, the representation of the principal incidents of the life of Buddha around the crowned figure is explained by the fact that "*Śākyasiṁha* was given a place in the unreal mythological domain and has been thoroughly identified with the Primordial Buddha" and that eight (or four) important incidents of his life were regarded as signs of his Buddhahood.

Buddha Śākyasiṁha—The images of Buddha illustrate one of the eight principal incidents of his life. Besides (1) the birth (Māyādevī standing under the Śāla tree) and (2) the *mahāparinirvāṇa* (death), we have (3) the enlightenment at Bodh-Gaya in Bhūmisparśa-mudrā, (4) the first sermon at Sarnath in Dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā, (5) the descent from the heaven of 33 gods in Varada-mudrā, where he went to preach to his mother, (6) the submission of the elephant Nalagiri or Ratnapāla in Abhaya-mudrā, (7) the attempt of Devadatta to kill him with the help of assassins and (8) the miracle at Śrāvastī in Vyākhyāna-mudrā. In addition to these incidents, two other events of the master's life are also illustrated in the separate images of Buddha, viz., (1) protection from rains by the hooded canopy of the serpent Mucalinda and (2) the gift of honey by a monkey at Vaiśālī. The images of Buddha in one of the above attitudes are common in Bihar and Bengal.

There is another class of Buddha images in which the central figure is represented by Buddha in Vajrāsana or by a crowned Buddha or Buddha in one of the above eight attitudes, but on the back slab we find all the principal incidents of his life. Sometimes some other additional incidents[2] are also to be found. The additional incidents are (1) the taking of first seven steps by infant Buddha, (2) the casting of the horoscope by the sage Asita Devala,

1. VRSR, 1929-27. pp. 7-10; for crowned images, see, IM, B. G. No. 80, Br. No. 68, Nos. 3713, 8703, 3755, 2071; VSPC, No. C(c) 2/185.

2. See the huge image of Buddha from Jagadishpur near Nālandā and the Sib-bati Buddha image from Khulna, ESMS, Pls., XIXC, XXA; also IM, No. Br. 5, pl. XIXb.

(3) the boy Buddha at school,[1] (4) his concern at the sight of an old man,[2] (5) the *mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* or the great renunciation on the back of Kaṇṭhaka followed by the groom Chandaka, (7) the changing of the dress with that of Chandaka, (8) the cutting of hair, (9) the meditation of Buddha, (10) the attack of the Māra's army, (11) allurements by his two daughters and (12) failure of that attempt. After a comparison of the representations of these scenes from the master's life with those of other schools, R. D. Banerjee[3] observes that the Pāla school of sculptures introduced the representations of many incidents which had not been portrayed by the intermediate schools like Mathura and Sarnath after that of Gandhara. The same scholar very appropriately described these scenes on the back slabs as "images bas-reliefs" and the evolution of this style is peculiar to the Pāla school.

Mañjuśrī—The gods, Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, require special treatment owing to their great importance. Their conceptions are known in early Buddhist literatures like the *Sukhāvatī Vyūha* and *Karaṇḍavyūha* and they are therefore earlier than their parental Buddhas. Mañjuśrī is the god of learning and his worship confers "wisdom, retentive memory, intelligence, eloquence for mastering the scriptures." Two Dhyānī Buddhas claim his allegiance and on some varieties of his images the five Dhyānī Buddhas appear. Besides, there are independent forms. Vāk and Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara are emanations from Amitābha. Their representations in images are not known. Mañjughoṣa, Siddhaikavīra, Vajrānaṅga, and Nāmasaṅgīti are emanations from Akṣobhya and of them no image is yet reported from Bengal and Bihar. Vāgīśvara, Mañjuvara, Mañjunātha and Mañjukumāra forms bear the images of five Dhyānī Buddhas. The IM. possesses an image of Vāgīśvara.[4] Of this variety Mañjuvara seems to have been popular. His two forms

1. Only in IM. No. Br. 6, the identification is questionable, as it is not very distinct.

2. Ibid.

3. ESMS., p. 44.

4. Bd. Icon, Pl. XIVd.

are prescribed in the *Sādhanamālā*. An image[1] of the simpler form in Dharmacakra-mudrā of the late Pāla period has been discovered at Bara in the Birbhum district. The VRSC. No. A (b) 12/264 describes a six-handed image of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī surmounted by five Dhyānī Buddhas (one of them missing). The independent forms of Mañjuśrī are Aparcana, Sthiracakra, Vādirāt and Mañjunātha. The *DMC*. No. 9A (ii) b/1 most probably represents Aparcana. He is holding the book against the breast in the left hand, brandishing a sword in the right, and it agrees with the *Sādhana* excepting that it bears the effigies of four Dhyānī Buddhas. The DM. also possesses a wooden image of standing Sthiracakra of high artistic excellence.[2] The *VSPC*. No. C (d) 8/16 also agrees with the *Sādhanā* excepting that the right hand shows Varada-mudrā and the left holds the stem of a lotus on which appears the sword.[3] An image of Mañjuśrī in bronze of the Gupta period has been discovered at Mahasthan.[4] It bears an effigy of Akṣobhya.

Avalokiteśvara—He is the most popular god of the Buddhists and is in charge of the world during the period between the disappearance of Śākyasiṁha and the advent of the future Buddha Maitreya. In the Maccandar Vihāra at Katmandu there are paintings of 108 varieties of Lokeśvara. In the *Sādhanamālā* his fifteen forms have been described. Excepting Vajradhara, all others are emanations from Amitābha. They are Ṣaḍakṣarī, Siṁhanāda, Khasarpaṇa, Lokanātha, Halāhala, Padmanarteśvara, Hariharihari-vāhana, Trailokyavaśaṅkara, Rakteśvara, Māyājālakarma, Nīlakaṇṭha, Sugatisandarśana and Pretasantarpita. Padmanarteśvara has three sub-varieties and Raktalokeśvara has two other forms. Of these different varieties the images of Ṣaḍakṣarī, Siṁhanāda, Lokanātha and Khasarpaṇa have been found in Bengal and Bihar. A representation of the Ṣaḍakṣarī group (in the company of Maṇidhara and Mahā-

1. Ibid., Pl. XVp.
2. Modern Review, 1938, March issue.
3. Bd. Icon., p. 30.
4. VRSR, 1926-27, Pl. I, fig. 2.

vidyā, broken) has been found in the Birbhum district.[1] The VRSM., DM. and IM. each possesses a fair number of Siṁhanāda images. Images of Lokanātha are very common. The *DMC.* No. IA(ii)a/2 is a fine specimen of Khasarpaṇa and agrees faithfully with the description in the *Sādhana.* It is one of the best products of the Pāla school of art. He is in Ardhaparyaṅka-āsana in Varada-mudrā with his companions Tārā, Sudhanakumāra, Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva with a lotus stalk in hand. The IM. No. 3808[2] represents another image of Khasarpaṇa. The VRSM.[3] possesses an image of Avalokiteśvara in bronze from Mahasthan and has been assigned on stylistic considerations to the Gupta period.

R. D. Banerjee[4] classifies the Avalokiteśvara images by the number of hands and attributes in them :—

(1). Avalokiteśvara with two hands—the lotus stalk in the left hand and the right in the Varada-mudrā.

(2). With four hands—the two additional ones holding a rosary *(akṣamālā)* and a *kamaṇḍalu* or a book.

(3). With six hands[5]—the other two hands holding a snare *(pāśa)* and a jewel-like substance.

(4). With multiplicity of hands.[6] The *VRSC.* No. A(b)1/47 is a 12-handed image of Avalokiteśvara, but the attributes are not distinct. The *VSPC.* No. C(d)7/9 is also a 12-handed one with the figure of Amitābha over the serpent canopy. The *VRSC.* Nos. A(b)2/37 from Bogra and A(b)3/122 from Vikrampur, Dacca, represent a twelve-handed god and are surmounted by five Dhyānī Buddhas. The VRSC.. No. A(b)4/93 from Vikrampur describes a Bodhisattva Lokanātha surmounted by five Dhyānī Buddhas.[7] No such description is to be found in the *Sādhanamālā.* The presence of five Dhyānī Buddhas on so many images cannot perhaps be explained as "ornamental rather than parental," and it may be that we have not yet

1. ASIR, Eastern circle, 1920-21, p. 27.
2. ESMS, pl. XXXIII.
3. Report, 1927-28, pl. V.
4. ESMS, p. 87 ff.
5. IM. No. 5860.
6. See ESMS, pl. XXXIVa.
7. For another image see ASIR, 1930-34, pl. CXXXIb.

known the *Sādhana* which prescribes Avalokiteśvara as an emanation of five Dhyānī Buddhas.

The *VRSC.* No. A(b)4/124 has been described as Bodhisattva Trailokyavaśaṅkara, corwned with an image of Buddha. It is a three-faced and four-handed figure. In the *Sādhanamālā* Trailokyavasaṅkara is one-faced, two-armed and three-eyed, and therefore, its identification does not seem to be correct. The image may be a representation of Halāhala or Sukhāvatī form but in the *Sādhanas* both are described as six-handed.[1]

Family of Amitābha—He claims complete allegiance of the gods, Mahāvala, Saptaśatika and Hayagrīva and the goddesses, Kurukullā, Bhṛkuṭī and Mahāsitavatī. Kurukullā has four sub-varieties. It is reported that there are three images of Kurukullā among the large Kurkihara finds.[2] No other image of this group is known.

Family of Akṣobhya—He commands the allegiance of a large number of gods and goddesses. His male emanations are Caṇḍaroṣaṇa, Heruka; Buddhākapāla, Vajraḍāka, Hayagrīva, Yamāri and Jambhala. Heruka has three varieties—Dvibhuja Heruka, Heruka in *Yab-Yum* (in close embrace) with his Śakti and Caturbhuja Heruka. The *DMC.* No. IA(iv)b/1 is a Dvibhuja Heruka in Ardhaparyaṅka or dancing pose with a horrible look, hurling a Vajra and wearing a garland of skulls. Vajraḍāka has three varieties—Samvara, Saptākṣara and Mahāmāyā. The IM. has recently acquired an image of Samvara from northern Bengal.[3] The *Sādhana* prescribes four heads but this image has three. Otherwise it agrees in details with the description in the *Sādhanamālā*. Yamāri has two varieties—Rakta (red) and Kṛṣṇa (black). Kṛṣnayamāri has again three subvarieties and one image of the sub-variety, namely, Yamāntaka, has been discovered at Nālandā.[4] Jambhala has another variety called Ucchuṣma-Jambhala.

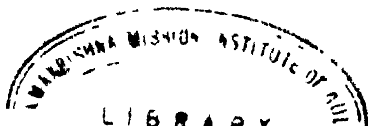
The female emanations of Akṣobhya are Mahācīnatārā, Jāṅ-

1. Bd. Icon. pp. 40, 46, 60.
2. Proceedings and Transactions of the seventh Oriental Conference, pp. 795-796.
3. ASIR, 1934-35, p. 80, pl. XXIVc.
4. Bb. Icon., pl. XxVb.

gulī, Ekajaṭā, Parṇaśavarī, Prajñāpāramitā, Vajracaracikā, Dhvajāgrakeyūrā, Vasuhdarā and Nairātmā. Jāṅgulī has three forms, Ekajaṭā has two and Prajñāpāramitā has four. The IM.[1] possesses a representation of Ekajaṭā who offers a horrible and grim look and flames are gushing out from her person. A broken image of Parṇaśavarī with six hands, three faces and trampling on Gaṇeśa is in the Indian Museum.[2] Prajñāpāramitā is the deification of the spirit of the popular *Mahāyāna* book of that name. The DMC[3] describes an image of this goddess. Vasuhdarā is the Śakti of Jambhala and is the goddess of plenty and prosperity. One image of Vasudharā has been found in the Murshidabad district.[4] The goddess Nairātmā is the deification of the idea underlying Śūnyavāda or Nirātmā (soullessness). The IM. No. 3941 represents an image of Nairātmā. She is dancing in Ardhaparyaṅka attitude on a corpse with a garland of skulls. With angry eyes, canine teeth and burning flames from her person she presents a terrible appearance. A bronze in VSPM.[5] seems to represent this goddess. The only thing that goes against the identification is that her sire Akṣobhya is not to be found on the top.

Family of Vairocana—In the *Sādhanamālā* no male emanation of Vairocana is known. His female emanations are Mārīcī, Uṣṇīṣavijayā, Sitātapatrā, Aparājitā, Mahāsahasrapramardanī and Vajravārāhī. Of these goddesses Mārīcī was very popular. She has six varieties, of which only the images of Aṣṭabhujā Mārīcī are common. She is the Buddhist goddess of dawn and her chariot is drawn by seven pigs. She is four-faced and a *Caitya* appears on her head. In her four faces four sentiments, *bhaya, bībhatsa, raudra* and *śānta* were directed to be expressed. One of the faces is that of a boar. The IM.[6] possesses an image of Uṣṇīṣavijayā which agrees in all details with the *Sādhana* excepting that it bears the effigy of Akṣobhya in

1. Ibid., pl. XXVIId.
2. No. 3957.
3. No IB (1)/1.
4. ASIR, 1927-28, pl. XLIXe.
5. Bd. Icon., p. 91, pl. XXXb.
6. Ibid., pl XXXIc



stead of Vairocana. Vajravārāhī is the śakti of Hevajra and has three varieties.

Though no male emanation of Vairocana is known in the *Sādhanamālā*, a bronze image of Hevajra with this parental Dhyānī Buddha has been discovered in the Tippera district.[1] He is in fighting attitude and in his sixteen hands there are different attributes, mostly weapons. Eight goddesses dance a war dance around him. Another image of Hevajra in *Yab-Yum* has been found at Paharpur.[2]

Family of Amoghasiddhi—Like Vairocana only female emanations of Amoghasiddhi are known and they are Khadirvanī-Tārā, Vaśyatārā, Ṣaḍbhujā Sitatārā, Dhanada-Tārā, Parṇaśavarī, Mahāmāyūrī and Vajraśṛṅkhalā. The images of Khadirvanī-Tārā are very comon. Both standing and seated forms are to be found. She is accompanied by Aśokakāntā Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā. Two fine images of Parṇaśavarī come from the Dacca district.[3] She appears in fighting attitude and presents an angry look. The diseases and pestilences which are represented in human shape flee at her approach.

Family of Ratnasambhava—His male emanations are Jambhla and Ucchuṣma Jambhala. Jambhala is the Buddhist god of wealth and is represented with a pot belly and decked with ornaments. In his right hand he carries a mongoose which vomits jewel. He is a popular god and his allegiance is claimed by Ratnasambhava, Akṣobhya and five Dhyānī Buddhas. The *DMC*.[4] describes two fine images of the present type from Vikrampur.

His female emanations are Mahāpratisarā and Vasudharā. Two eight-handed images[5] from Dacca are generally identified with Mahāparatisarā but they do not belong to this form. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya refers to an independent form of this goddess in the

1. DMC, Addenda, pl. Ia.
2. ASIR, 1927-28, p. 107. pl. XLIXa.
3. DMC. Nos. Pl. XXIII.
4. Nos. pls. XIb, e.
5. Bd. Icon. Pls. XXXVbc,

Sādhanamālā.[1] They agree well with the independent form excepting that they have three faces, while the *Sādhana* prescribes four. One image of Vasudharā from Jhewari, Chittagong,[2] is known but the parental Buddha is lost and it is difficult to say under whose authority (Akṣobhya or Ratnasambhava) she is.

Emanations from five or four Dhyānī Buddhas—The gods included in this group are Jambhala and Mahākāla and the female emanations are Vajratārā, Prajñāpāramitā, Sitatārā and Māyājālakarma Kurukullā. The two images discovered at Majbari (Faridpur) and Patharghata (Bhagalpur) within a full-blown lotus with eight movable petals are generally taken to be representations of Vajratārā. But Dr. N.K. Bhattasali[3] draws attention to the description of an image of Cakra-Mahāsukha in the *Cakra-sambhara Tantra* and is perhaps right in his disagreement in so far as there are no parental Buddhas in the above two instances. The IM. No. 100[4] represents the goddess Prajñāpāramitā of this form. The *VRSC.* No. A(d)2/137 describes an image of Mārīcī and the rim of its chariot roof contains five Dhyānī Buddhas. The only known emanation from four Dhyānī Budhas is the goddess Vajratārā.

Family of Vajrasattva—His two emanations are Jambhala and Cundā.

Independent forms—Under this heading may be included the gods and goddesses who do not claim their origin from any of the five Dhyānī Buddhas or any combination of them. Independent gods are Gaṇapati, Bighnanāṭaka, Vajrahuṅkāra, Bhūtaḍāmara, Vajrajvālāmālākāra, Trailokyavijaya, Paramaśva and Nāmasaṅgīti. One image of Trailokyavijaya[5] from Bodh-Gaya is only known. He is four-faced, eight-armed and tramples on Gaurī and Śiva. The VSPM.[6] possesses an image of Bighnanāṭaka. Its provenance is not known but it seems to be a product of Nepalese workmanship.

1. Ibid., p. 117.
2. ASIR, 1927-28, Pl. XLIXb.
3. DMC., p. 51. The reproduction of Vajratārā from Nepal by Dr. Bhattacharyya is of entirely different type. Bd. Icon., Pl. XXXVa.
4. Ibid., Pl. XXXVIc. 5. Ibid., XXXIXc.
6. Ibid., Pl. XXXIXb.

Independent goddesses are Sarasvatī, Aparājitā, Vajragāndhārī, Vajrayoginī, Grahamātṛkā, Gaṇapatihṛdayā and Vajravidāraṇī. The Buddhists seem to have borrowed Sarasvatī, the Brahmanical goddess of learning. That she was highly venerated and very popular is attested by the fact that five of her forms are found in the *Sādhanamālā,* viz., Mahāsarasvatī, Vajravīṇā Sarasvatī, Vajrasāradā,[1] Āryasarasvatī and Vajrasārasvatī. The IM. has an image of Aparājitā.[2] The goddess is in fighting attitude and tramples on Gaṇeśa. Another broken image from Nālandā probably represents her.[3]

Miscellaneous gods and goddesses—Hāritī, protectress and giver of children, is not described in the *Sādhanamālā* but is known from Buddhist mythology. The DM.[4] has an image of this goddess with a fish and bowl in two hands and in the other two she holds a baby. The VRSM.[5] has four specimens. Two images of Hāritī have been found in the ruins of Khāḍi.[6]

The goddesses consisting of the *Tāntrika* Pañcarakṣā Maṇḍala are Mahāpratisarā, Mahāsahasrapramardanī, Mahāmantrānusāriṇī, Mahāmāyūrī, and Mahāśītavatī.[7]

All the Tārā images have not been properly classified. There are many varieties. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya classifies them under two general headings—(1) ordinary and (2) extraordinary. Ordinary Tārās exhibit the Varada pose in the right hand and hold a lotus in the left.[8] Ordinary Tārās are again sub-divided into Green and

1. One image from Nālandā has been identified as Koṭiśrī (?) and is, in the opinion of Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, probably that of Vajrasāradā. Both these identifications are questionable. There is no similarity of this image with the Nepalese painting of this goddess reproduced by him. Bd. Icon., Pls. XL de, p. 152.

2. Ibid., Pl. XLIIa.

3. Ibid., Pl. XLId.

4. No. IB (VII)/c

5. A (e) 1/327. A (e) 3/106, A (e) 2/329, A (e) 4/115.

6. VRSR, 1928-29. p. 8.

7. These five goddesses are illustrated in Bd. Icon by miniatures from a manuscript of Pañcarakṣā.

8. Ibid, p. 135 fn.

White Tārās. Green Tārā has four varieties—Khadirvanī, Vaśyatārā, Āryatārā and Mahattarī Tārā. Most of the Tārā images belong to this category. White Tārā has two varieties—Mṛtyuvañcana and Aṣṭamahābhaya. Extraordinary Tārās include a large number of goddesses we have described already.

The above account does not exhaust the number of known images[1] and it is also to be noted that all the *Sādhanas* have not been discovered. In spite of some cases of doubtful and questionable identifications it is to be admitted that the Buddhist images as a rule faithfully agree with their descriptions in the *Sādhanamālā*. The extant literature and the number of images hitherto discovered from different quarters make it abundantly clear that Buddhism in its later phase commanded a large following in the Pāla period.

1. The following identifications appear to us very doubtful. The VRSC No. A (g) 1/110 describes a ten-handed goddess as Vāgīśvarī, the DMC No. IB (iv) a/1 as Sitapātra and No. 1A (v) a/1 as Piṇḍola-Buddha, God of Medicine. The sixteen-handed image (IM. No. 2076) cannot be identified at all. the eight-handed goddess from Bara (Bīrabhūma-Vivaraṇa, fiig. 30) appears either to be an image of Uṣṇīṣavijayā or Mahāpratisarā. Another image reproduced in the same book (fig. 27) appears to represent a Buddhist god. I am unable to suggest any iudentification from the indistinct photograph.

CHAPTER XI

RELIGIOUS CONDITION (CONTINUED)

Brahmanical Pantheon

Vaiṣṇavism—The *Harivaṁsa*[1] narrates the story of a quarrel between Yādava Kṛṣṇa and Vāsudeva of Puṇḍra. The latter was a friend and ally of the Magadha king Jarāsandha and an enemy of Kṛṣṇa. It is said in this story that Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva considered himself to be the real Vāsudeva, the holder of *śaṅkha, cakra padma* and *gadā,* and regarded Devakīputra Vāsudeva as an impostor. In the battle that ensued on this account the Puṇḍra king lost his life. The story tends to show that at the time of the composition of the *last* part of the *Harivaṁśa* Vāsudeva with his usual attributes was regarded as a fullfledged god, but it may reflect the spirit of a previous age (as we know from the story of Śiśupālavadha in the *Mahābhārata)* when there was a considerable opposition from a section of the people of eastern India to looking upon Kṛṣṇa as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. It may be noted that Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva was one of the kings defeated by Bhīma in his eastern expedition.

The earliest epigraph referring to Vaiṣṇava worship in Bengal is the Susunia inscription which records the setting up of a wheel of Viṣṇu by king Candravarman. The Vaigram plate of 129 G.E. refers to a temple of Govindasvāmin (a form of Viṣṇu) and the Damodarpur plate No. 4 refers to a temple of Śvetavarāhasvāmin.[2] The Tippera grant of Lokanātha records grant of land to a temple of Nārāyaṇa. The Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla mentions grant of land to a temple of Nanna-Nārāyaṇa in the Vyāghrataṭī-maṇḍala.

The Brahmanical images and terracotas unearthed in course of

1. Vaṅgavāsī edition. Udvṛtta-bhaviṣyat-parva, pp. 439-446.

2. Most probably it means Viṣṇu in Varāhāvatāra. This record also mentions Kokāmukhasvāmin. Dr. R. G. Basak says that Kokāmukha may mean a she-wolf. It cannot be ascertained what god was meant in this case.

excavations at Paharpur are assignable to the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. Stories and exploits connected with the life of Kṛṣṇa are illustrated profusely in panels and they go to show that the Kṛṣṇa cult was popular in Northern Bengal even in the Gupta period. Before the Paharpur excavations our knowledge of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult of ancient Bengal was very poor, the stone representations being the doubtfully identified 'Mother and Child' images as the birth of Kṛṣṇa. His sports with the milk-maids and the part played by him in the *Mahābhārata* have been mentioned in the 4th verse of the Belava plate of Bhojavarman, the last known king of the Vaiṣṇava Varman dynasty. Jayadeva, the court-poet of Lakṣmaṇasena, immortalised the love of Rādhā and Kṣṛṇa in his *Gita-Govinda.* The Kṛṣṇa panels[1] at Paharpur which are possible of definite identification are lifting of the mountain Govardhana, the death of the demons Cāṇura and Muṣṭika in wrestling combat with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, the uprooting of two Arjuna trees and the killing of the demon Keśī.[2] An amorous pair[3] with halos round their heads have been identified with Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. There are separate representations of Balarāma and the river goddess Yamunā. There are various other panels which may be representations of some scenes of Kṛṣṇa's life. Two scenes[4]—a monkey carrying stone on his head for making the bridge in order to cross over to Laṅkā and the fight between Bālī and Sugrīva—show the wide popularity of the *Rāmāyāṇa* stories in that period. Besides the Paharpur finds, a bronze image of Viṣṇu from Rangpur may be assigned to the Gupta period.[5] An ordinary Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu Śeṣa-Śāyin in the Tepa collection at Rangpur,[6] Viṣṇu from Laksmankathi, Backerganje,[7] and another from Jogirsoan, Rajshahi,[8] and a baked clay seal of the god from Sabhar, Dacca,[9] may be assigned to the post-Gupta period.

1. ASIR, 1926-27, pp. 142 ff.
2. IC, III, p. 195.
3. ASIR, 1926-27, Pl. XXXc.
4. Ibid., Pl. XXXIVa.
5. Ibid., 1929-30, Pl. XXXVb.
6. VRS. Monograph, No. 4.
7. DMC, p. 87.
8. VRSR, 1930-31, fig. 1.
9. DMC, p. 83.

Viṣṇu images of the Pāla period lie scattered and uncared for all over Bengal, and all the museums and private collections possess a fairly large number. This is a clear proof of the wide popularity of the worship of this god. Viṣṇu is generally represented as standing with his four well-known attributes in four hands. He is accompanied by his two wives Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, *Vāhana* being the devotee Garuḍa. Sometimes the door-keepers of Vaikuṇṭha, viz., Jaya and Vijaya, also appear. Most of the Bengal images belong to the Trivikrama and Vāsudeva varieties with the order of attributes PGCS and GSCP. in four hands.[1] A specimen of a four-headed bust of Viṣṇu is in the Tepa collection at Rangpur. The central face is normal, the left and right are those of Varāha and lion. The back one is described like that of a Bhairava.[2] The pedestal of a seated image of Viṣṇu *(Yogāsana)* from Itahar, Dinajpur, has been noticed by Mr. S. K. Saraswati.[3] A standing Viṣṇu with a seven-hooded snake canopy has been found in the north-western Sunderbans.[4] A Seṣa-Śāyin image is at Vainyesvara, Murshidabad.[5]

On some Viṣṇu images we find the representation of his ten incarnations on the back slab.[6] The ten incarnations are Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Rāma (Dāśarathi), (Paraśu)-rāma, (Bala)rāma, Buddha and Kalki. Of these we have some remakable specimens of Matsya, Varāha, Narasiṁha and Vāmana incarnations in separate images. Representation of the Matsyāvatāra in a separate image is not very common in India,[7] and Bengal can claim two—one from Vajrajogini,[8] Dacca, and the other from Serpore,[9]

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1. For different varieties of Viṣṇu, see Viṣṇumūrti-Paricaya by V. Vidyavinode. So far as we know, varieties of Nārāyaṇa, Hṛṣīkeśa and Śrīdhara have been discovered. See VSPC No. F (a) 1/352; JASB, 1932, p. 179; VRSR, 1928-29, p. 18.
2. VRS, Monograph, No. 4, pp. 80-3/.
3. JASB, 1936, p. 11, Pl. II, fig. 1.
4. VRS. Monograph, No. 4, Pl. III, No. 12
5. Bīrabhūma-Vivaraṇa, fig. 83.
6. DMC., No. 3A (1) a/5; IBSMS, p. 103.
7. ASIR, 1924-25, p. 154.
8. DMC., No. 3A (1) d/1.
9. Pravāsī, 1888-B. S., pp. 516 ff.

Bogra. On ordinary images of Viṣṇu this form is indicated by a fish. In these two specimens the god is represented as half-fish (lower half) and half-man with usual attributes in four hands and with Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī on his two sides. Images of the Varāha-avatāra are rather common, the VRSM. possessing the largest number. The images of Narasiṁha-avatāra are also fairly common. Three Narasiṁha images[1] in the Abdullapur Vaiṣṇava monastery have six hands instead of four, the two additional ones being in the Abhaya and Tarjanī mudrās. In the images of the Vāmana-avatāra the attempt to chastise the demon king Bali by raising the left foot in order to cover three worlds is cleverly depicted.[2] The image of Paraśurāma is extremely rare in Bengal. The *DMC.*[3] describes one from Ranihati Deul, Purapara in Vikrampur. The only difference from an ordinary Viṣṇu image is that the god holds a *paraśu* instead of the *gadā*.

Many square slabs of stone or metal with the image of Viṣṇu on one side and his ten incarnations on the other in a circular order have been discovered and very appropriately called Viṣṇupaṭṭas.[4] Most probably they are the *Yantras* used by the Tantrika Vaiṣṇavas. The finest specimen is from Khāḍi, Sunderbans.[5]

The images of Balarāma are not very common. The VRSM.[6] possesses one from Dinajpur. The god is standing under a five-hooded snake canopy. The first right hand holds a cup (of wine ?), the second a club and the first left a plough and the other rests on the knee. It may be noted that one image among the Kurkihar

1. DMC., Pl. XXXVII bcd.

2. A pot-bellied and comparatively short sized Viṣṇu in IM, in the usual standing posture is described by R. D. Banerjee as Vāmana. We think there is nothing to regard it as an image of Vamana-avatāra except its short size. ESMS, Pl. XLVIIa.

3. Pl. XXXIXb

4. DMC, p. 89.

5. Antiquities of Khāḍi, (Sunderbans) by Mr. K. D. Mitra in VRSR, 1928-29.

6. E (d) 1/386.

(Bihar) finds has been identified with Balarāma,[1] and another of the reign of Devapāla has been found at Nālandā.[2]

Garuḍa appears in Viṣṇu images as kneeling on the right knee with folded hands in adoration. He is sometimes represented as a human being[3] and occasionally as a bird proper.[4] The separate images of two-winged Garuḍa with folded palms are common. They might have adorned the pillars in front of Vaiṣṇava temples. The crowning figure of the Dinajpur Vaiṣṇava pillar is a double-sided Garuḍa. The *DMC.*[5] describes a fine specimen of a double-sided Garuḍa image. The VRSM. specimen[6] from Nagail, Rajshahi, is aslo a good piece of sculpture. The wooden image of Garuḍa from Raghurampur is of fine workmanship.[7]

The images of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa are not very common and only four of them are known.[8] Representation of Lakṣmī in separate images is not also very common. The *VRSC.* reports the acquisition of three metal images from Bogra and the VSPM.[9] has one from Bhagalpur. Separate images of Sarasvatī are also rare. The DM. specimen comes from Tolbari Bhita near the *Nāstika Paṇḍitera Bhiṭā* (generally supposed to be Atīśa Dīpaṅkara's home) at Vajrayogini, Vikrampur. In the three specimens in VRSM. from Bogra and Rajshahi the ram appears as her *vāhana,* while the known *Dhyānas* direct it to be the swan. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali[10] draws attention to the 7th *Adhyāya,* 12th *Kāṇḍa* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* which connects a ram with Sarasvatī worship. The practice of sacrificing the ram is still observed in some parts of the Dacca district.

1. Transaction and Proceedings of the Seventh Oriental Conference, p. 799.

2. ASIR. 1920-21, p. 35.

3. ESMS, p. 106; VRSC, No. E (a) 17/2

4. Ibid. E (a) 1/9.

5. 3A (1) c/2.

6. ESMS, Pl. XCIa,

7. DMC, No. 3A (i) e/1.

8. DMC., No. 3A (i) b/1; Mr. S. K. Saraswati notices three images in his reports of his tours in Malda and Dinajpur. See JASB, 1936, pp. 9 ff. Another image reproduced in Bīrabhūma-Vivaraṇa.

9. K (a) 1/265.

10. DMC, p. 187.

Śaivism—The spread of Śaivism in Bengal is obscure. In the Gunaighar grant of 508 A.D. Vainyagupta is styled as *paramaśaiva*, and in course of the description of the boundary of the donated land to the Buddhist monastery a temple of Pradyumneśvara has been referred to. The existence of a Śaiva temple in the Tippera district in this period indicates that Śaivism had considerable influence by that time. The bull symbol of the coins of Samācāradeva and Śaśāṅka shows that they most probably belonged to this sect. The seal of the Asrafpur plates of the Khaḍgas bears a bull couchant, and the queen Prabhāvatī, wife of Devakhaḍga, consecrated a Śarvāṇī image. In spite of their ardent devotion to Buddhism it seems that the Khaḍgas had Śivaite sympathies also.

Śiva has been represented in various forms at Paharpur and four of them have been described in the report of the Archæological Survey. In these four forms he has the *ūrdhva liṅga (penis erectus)* and has his third eye on the forehead, which along with the presence of *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalu* go to signify his ascetic aspect. (1) The scene of offering poison has been depicted in a simple but dignified way. (2) There is another standing Śiva image with a kneeling bull to his right with a heavy staff *(triśūla ?)* in the left hand. (3) In another image his right hand shows *varada* pose and the left holds the *triśūla*. (4) In another there is a halo round the head and his two hands hold *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalu*.

In the Pāla and Sena periods Śiva was worshipped in various forms, of which two-armed Śiva, Sadāśiva, Bhairava, Kalyāṇasundara or Vaivāhikamūrti, Umā-Maheśvara or Umāliṅganamūrti and Naṭarāja types seem to have been popular. Four images of two-armed Śiva are known. They look like Viṣṇu images excepting their characteristic Śaiva symbols, the bull, tridents and *Urdhvaliṅga.*[2] The seal attached to the Sena grants bears the figure of ten-armed Sadāśiva. The VRSM. has three Sadāśiva images and the VSPM.,

1. 1926-27, pp. 146-47

2. Two in the VRSM, described in VRSC as Harihara, p. 11; and two in the IM., ASIR, 1930-34, p. 262, Pl. CXXXII. d.

two.[1] Bhairava was originally an attendant of, or emanation from Śiva and instead of the bull, the dog is the *vāhana* of Bhairava. The VRSM. has four,[2] the DM. possesses one and the Nahar collections, Calcutta, contains a fine specimen. Kalyāṇasundara images can be divided into two classes. In one class Gaurī stands in front of Śiva[3] and in another to his left.[4] Umā-Maheśvara images predominate over all other Śiva images, and both metal and stone specimens are common. It is noteworthy that all the known images of Naṭarāja Śiva excepting one from Govindapur in N.W. Sunderbans[5] come from eastern Bengal (Dacca and Tippera districts). The Naṭarāja images can be divided into two classes—ten-handed and twelve-handed varieties.[6]

A rare type of Śiva with a trident and a rosary in two right hands and a skull-head staff and skull bowl in the left two is worshipped at Kasipura, Backerganje. Pārvatī and Gaṅgā stand on two sides and small figures of Ganeśa and Kārtikeya are also noticeable.[7] The eight-armed Aghora images are not common and only three specimens are known.[8] The VRSM. possesses aunique specimen of Ardhanārīśvara from Purapara, Vikrampur, whose images

1. Another image has been discovered recently from Dinajpur and it is reported that it will be preserved in the IM. Mr. H. D. Mitra contributes a very informative paper on Sadāśiva worship in Bengal, see SASB, 1933, pp. 171 ff. Mr. Mitra places the earliest image of Sadāśiva in Bengal in c. 950-1000 A. D. Most probably the ten-handed Śiva in Bīrabhūma-Vivaraṇa, fig. 19. is an image of Sadāśiva. It may be noted that there is none from eastern Bengal.

2. The image described in VRSC. 26, as Revanta seems to be a representation of Bhairava The image illustrated in Bīrabhūma-Vivaraṇa against page 188 appears to be that of Bhairava.

3. DMC., Pl. XLVIIa.

4. Ibid., Pl. XLVIIb.

5. VRS, Monograph, No. 5, fig. 7.

6. DMC., P. 111, Nos. 3A (ii) a/8 are broken.

7. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali calls it Nīlakaṇṭha but admits that the Dhyāna prescribes five heads, while the present image has only four but the attributes in the hands agree. DMC, p. 117.

8. DMC., Pl. XLVII; VRS, Monograph, No. 5, fig. 9, another at Bhardraśila, Dinajpur, JASB, 1936, p. 12.

are of extreme rarity[1] in Bengal. The images from Purapara, Vikrampur, are said to have been worshipped by Vallālasena and one of his queens.[2] It may be mentioned that the Naihati plate of Vallālasena opens with an invocation to the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva. The VSPM.[3] has one broken image which appears to represent a seated Śiva *(Dhyānī Śiva?)*

The worship of Śiva in his phallic emblem was widely popular. The known *Liṅgas* can be divided into four classes. (1). The plain *Liṅga* with *yoni* or *agrapaṭṭa* is represented as plain cylinder with a circular platform around its middle. They are very common and one inscribed in the 7th-8th century script has been found along with the Śarvāṇī image of queen Prabhāvatī.[4]
(2). The cylinder with one face of Śiva is called *Ekamukha Liṅga.*[5]
(3). *Liṅgas* with the bust of Śiva on four sides of the cylinder is called *Caturmukha Liṅga* to which reference has been made in the Bodh-Gaya inscription of the 26th year of Dharmapāla. One specimen is at Aminpur, Dinajpur.[6]
(4). The VRSM. has four *Liṅgas* encircled by four effigies of Devī and a similar one is at Delbandh, Dinajpur.[7]

The bull, the *Vāhana* of Śiva, was generally placed in the outer wall of his temple. The DM. and VRSM. each has a massive bull and another is in the Dinajpur Collectorate.

The images of Gaṇeśa are common. Generally we meet with seated or dancing Gaṇeśa with four or eight hands.[8] The VRSM.

1. The VRSC. No. C (e) 2/288 is a fragmentary image from Akṣayavaṭa, Gaya.
2. DMC., p. 131.
3. G (c) 1/341.
4. DMC., pl. LXX.
5. VRSC., No. C (a) 1/82 ; one from Mangolkot, Burdawn. see ESMS. pl. XIa, one at Unakoti, Tippera.
6. JASB, 1932, p. 187 ; for two others see *infra.*
7. Ibid, pp. 188-89.
8. Mr. B. Bhattacharyya describes eight varities of Gaṇeśas. But as the attributes do not agree with his lists, it is difficult to classify them accordingly, see Indian Images, p. 18

has the largest number of dancing Gaṇeśas. The *DMC.*[1] *and VRSC.*[2] each describes a six-handed Gaṇeśa. The *DMC.* describes a unique five-faced and ten-armed dancing Gaṇeśa from Vikrampur, and the learned compiler of the *Catalogue* has quoted a *Dhyāna* from the *Sāradātilaka Tantra,* which enables him to identify it as an image of the Heramba variety of Gaṇeśa. Images of Kārtikeya are not very common. The *DMC.* describes only one and the VRSM. has three, of which No. C(g)1/181 is described as very old. The IM.[4] has acquired a splendid image of Kārtikeya from northern Bengal.

Śaiva and Śākta goddesses—Durgā is the śakti of Śiva and was worshipped in various forms. Her images of different varieties have been discovered but not properly classified. It can well be understood how many different forms she had from the simple fact that the *Devīpurāṇa*[5] alone mentions 62 types. A remarkable image of a goddess is worshipped at Kāgajipāḍā (paper-makers' village), Vikrampur. The lower half is a finely carved *Linga* from which she emerges. She holds a rosary and a book in the upper two hands and the lower two are placed one on another in Dhyānamudrā. The goddess has been tentatively identified as Mahāmāyā.[6] Images of Gaurī are common. The *DMC.* describes three and most of the ten images described in the *VRSC.* under the heading Caṇḍī with *Godhikā (mongoose)* as the vehicle are representations of Gaurī.[7] The *VRSC.* N. D(a)7/184 appears to be an image of Umā, as the goddess holds a mirror which differentiates her from Gaurī and Pārvatī.[8]

1. DMC p. 146
2. G (b) 1/224. For another six-handed dancing Gaṇeśa, see Mediæval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum by R. P. Chanda pl. XXI
3. DMC, pp. 146-47
4. ASIR, 1934 35, pl. XXIVd
5. Vaṅgavāsī edition, Ch LX, pp 180 ff
6. DMC, pp. 192-3, pl. XIV.,
7. Also see the goddess at Mahesvarapasa, Khulna, ESMS, pl. LVIIc and the image illustrated in Birbhūma-Vivaraṇa against page 192 (Vol II) fig. 67
8. Gopinath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 118, 120

Images of Pārvatī are fairly common. The *Liṅga* along with the rosary in the right hands is her distinctive feature. Three images[1] have been described in the *VRSC.* as Siṁhavāhinī. One has eight hands and the other two have four each. The attributes in them have not been mentioned. But it seems clear that they represent Durgā in one or another form, as the *Vāhana* lion shows. The standing goddess[2] with the lion as *Vāhana* from Mangalbari,, Dinajpur, holds in her upper two hands a *triśūla* and an *aṅkuśa* and the other two are lost. She also represents a form of Durgā. An uncommon type of Caṇḍī[3] of the 3rd year of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign is worshipped in the Dacca town. There is a lion couchant on the pedestal and the goddess has a battle axe in her upper right hand. Two elephants sprinkle water on her and two females with fly-whisks attend her. But for the short inscription which labels her as Caṇḍī, it would have been very difficult to identify her, as it differs from known examples. The metal image of eight-armed Śarvāṇī installed by queen Prabhāvatī was discovered at Deulbadi, Tippera. Two rare and unique images of Devī have been discovered in Jessore and Birbhum, and their identification is far from certain. A six-handed goddess seated on a lotus, which is supported by a lion, is worshipped at Sankhahati, Jessore, as Bhuvaneśvarī.[4] R. D. Banerjee labels it as Pārvatī.[5] She is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka-āsana* with her right foot pendant on the lion and the pedestal contains two other small lions. The two lower left hands hold the *Kamaṇḍalu* and *Triśūla* and the other shows *Abhaya* pose. The two upper right hands hold a lotus and a rosary and the other exhibits the *Varada* pose. The form of Bhuvaneśvarī as described by Mr. Gopinath Rao[6] is four-handed. Otherwise, it agrees with the details. The

1. Nos. D(c)1/130, D(c)2/82, D(c)3/29
2. ESMS, pl. LVIa
3. DMC; pl. LXIX.
4. S. C. Mitra, History of Jessore and Khulna (in Bengali) p. 240.
5. ESMS, pl. LVIIIa.
6. Op. Cit., Vol. I Pt. II, p. 37 ; see also Rao's descripiion of Tulasīdevī ; see also the descriptions of Vijayā and Umā in the Devīpurāṇa. pp. 185 ff. But all of them are four-handed. Mr. S. C. Mitra proposes to identify her with Tripureśvarī of the Tantrasāra.

other image[1] at Deuli, Birbhum is a ten-armed goddess, standing in *Atibhaṅga* pose. Three images discovered from that village are said to have been installed by the Sena kings. The *Vāhana* seems to be a lion. The attributes in four left hands are *Triśūla, Darpaṇa, Dhanuḥ,* and *Kamaṇḍalu,* and the attribute or the posture in the lowest left hand is indistinct. The two upper right hands hold *Khaḍga* and *Pāśa* and the attributes in other three are indistinct. The image seems to be a representation of Maṅgalā as described by Gopinath Rao[2] or Mahādevī of the *Devipurāṇa.*[3] An eighteen-handed goddess seated on a lotus supported by a lion has been discovered at Simla, Rajshahi, and has been indentified with Mahālakṣmī.[4]

The above forms of Devī show, on the whole, beatific countenances inspite of many weapons in her hands and she does not actually fight. Let us now describe her images in fighting mood. Three Vāgīśvarī images are known.[5] The *VRSC.* No. A(g)1/110 and the specimen in Dinajpur Raj palace have eight hands. Six additional hands hold different weapons and one of the normal two shows *Abhaya* pose and the other is engaged in drawing out the tongue of the demon. The specimen from Kachra is a four-handed image.[6] The known images of Mahiṣamardinī can be classified according to the number of hands. Eight and ten[7]-armed varieties are common. A splendid and remarkable six-armed image with an inscription written in seventh century script has been acquired by the VRSM. from Gangarampur, Malda.[8] A specimen of twelve-armed variety in metal was discovered at Kesavpur, Dinajpur.[9] Two specimens of eighteen-handed Mahiṣamardinī are known and the distinctive feature of the image at Vakreśvara,

1. Birbhūma-Vivaraṇa, Vol. II, illustrated against p. 23
2. Rao. Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 359.
3. p. 185.
4. VRS. Monograph, No. 6, fig. 4, pp. 21 ff.
5. JASB, 7932 p 183
6. VRSR, 1932-34, pl. IV, fig. 6
7. It is difficult to understand why both R. D Banerjee and Dr. N. K. Bhattasali think ten-armed variety as rare. The DMC. describes two such images and the VRSM. has three.
8. VRSR, 1931-32, pl. I.
9. ESMS, pl. LIIIc.

Birbhum, is that the goddess is surrounded by other fighting goddesses.[1] Mr. S. K. Saraswati has discovered a remarkable and unique image with thirty-two hands (called by him a form of Caṇḍikā) at Betna, Dinajpur.[2]

Cāmuṇḍā is one of the terrible forms of the Devī in which she appeared to kill the demons Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa. Various forms of Cāmuṇḍā are known. (1) Kṣamā with two hands. The image at Amadi, Jessore,[3] seems to represent this type. It is defaced and broken and the identification is therefore uncertain. The *VSPC*. No. J. (b) 1/345 appears to be an image of this type. (2) The *VRSC*. No. D (d) 9/207 is a four-handed Cāmuṇḍā on an ass with the words *Piśitāsanā* inscribed on it. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali is inclined to identify this image with the variety of Kālikā Cāmuṇḍā of the *Matsyapurāṇa*. (3) Dhāntura is represented with her left knee pressed against the ground and the right one raised. The left hand is placed on the seat and the right one rests on the raised knee. Three images of this type are known. The earliest is at Katason, Dinajpur, and another at Dinajpur.[4] The best specimen is in VSPM. from Attahasa, Burdwan. (4) Rudra-Cāracikā has six hands. The VRSC. Nos. D (d) 10/280 and D (d) 7/384 represent this variety and on the former the word Cāracikā is actually inscribed. (5). Rudra-Cāmuṇḍā has eight arms. The image illustrated in the *Bīrabhūma-Vivaraṇa*, Vol. II, against p. 124 seems to be an image of this type.[5] (6). Siddha-Cāmuṇḍā has ten arms and images of this type are fairly common.[6] (7) Siddha-Yogeśvarī and Rūpa-Vidyā have twelve arms. The *VRSC*. No. D (d)

1. Bīrabhūma-Vivaraṇa, illustrated in Vol. II, against p. 158. The other is at Panighat, Khulna, illustrated in S. C. Mitra's History of Jessore and Khulna against p. 170

2. JASB. 1932, pl. IX, fig. 2

3. Illustrated in the History of Jessore and Khulna, against p. 166

4. JASB, 1932, pl. V. III. fig. 2

5. It is described in the above book as Fulleśvarī Devī

6. The image illustrated in Bīrabhūma-Vivaraṇa against p. 144 appears to be of this class and also VRSC, Nos. 3, 5, 6 and also Cāmuṇḍā at Betna, JASB. 1932, pl. IX. fig. 3

2/252 and *DMC.* No. 3B (ii) h/1 may belong to these two varieties.[1]

A few representations of *Mātṛkās* have been found, but their worship is not prevalent at present. The *VRSM.* has two slabs. No. D (c) 1/7 represents nine Mātṛkās—(1) Brahmāṇī, (2) Raudrī, (3) Kumārī, (4) Vāgīśvarī, (5) Mahiṣamardinī, (6) Varāhī, (7) Indrāṇī, (8) Cāmuṇḍā and (9) Siṁhavāhinī. The other specimen contains seven of them. Besides, the VRSM. has three Varāhīs and one Vaiṣṇavī. The VSPM. has one slab from Devagram, Nadia, representing Brahmāṇī.

Generally, images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā adorn the doors of temples. All the images of Gaṅgā discovered so far are good pieces of sculpture and the *Vāhana* Makara is tastefully represented. The VRSM. has two, and the *Bīrabhūma-Vivaraṇa*[2] illustrates two. One Gaṅgā image is worshipped in the Jaśoreśvarī temple, Khulna,[3] and another at Bhadrasila, Dinajpur.[4] Separate images of Yamunā are rare.

The section on Śaiva images cannot be closed without a passing reference to two important Śaiva centres at Unakoti in Hill Tippera and Deopara in the Rajshahi district. The name Ūnakoṭi is in imitation of the Koṭi-tīrtha (Kāśī) in which place, according to tradition, there are a crore of Śaiva images, and Ūnakoṭi was, as its name implies, second to Koṭi-tīrtha in importance to the Śaivas. There are many sculptures lying scattered here and there on the hill and on the rocky bed of the stream there. What is more interesting is that there are a series of colossal heads and figures carved on the rock. The central figure is a colossal Śiva head of "about 30ft. high, including the high embroidered head-dress which is itself 10ft. in height." There are other gigantic figures of Śiva and Gaṇeśa. A standing figure of Śiva holds the conch and the rosary in the right and left hands respectively. Figures of six and eight-handed Gaṇeśa stand erect with attenuated waists with three and four tusks. There is a Viṣṇu image, resembling that of the Sun-god. Besides, there are images of Hara, Gaurī, Hari-

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1. In the description of Cāmuṇḍā images we have followed the Agnipurāṇa

2. Vol. II, against pp. 74, 76

3. ESMS, pl. LXID.

4. JASB, 1936, pl. I, fig. 2

hara, Narasimha, Hanumāna, *Ekamukha and Caturmukha Liṅgas*. The site seems to have been sacred to the Śaivas since the 9th century A.D.[1]

The gorgeous and magnificent temple of Pradyumneśvara (Śiva and Viṣṇu combined) at Deopara which has been described by Umāpatidhara in flattering terms is no more. The tank in front of it is called Padumsahar tank and the numerous sculptures found in it in course of excavations and preserved in the *VRSM*. go to show its importance as a religious centre.

Two inscriptions from southern India enable us to form an idea of the esteem and veneration in which the Śaivas of Gauḍa were held there. A Tanjore inscription[2] records that Rājendra Cola built the Rājarājeśvara temple and appointed Sarvaśiva Paṇḍita-Śivācārya as the priest of that temple and further directed that thenceforth the *śiṣyas* and their *śisyas* alone, belonging to Āryadeśa and Gauḍadeśa should be eligible for the office of the chief priest. It is stated in a commentary on the *Siddhānta-Sāravali* of Trilocana Śivācārya that Rājendra Cola imported Śaivas from the banks of the Ganges.[3] A record[2] of the fifth year of the Cola king Parakeśarīvarman (Rājādhirājadeva) states that the worship of Śiva by Umāpatideva, *alias* Jñāna Śivadeva, a native of Dakṣiṇa-Lāla in Gauḍadeśa, was responsible for the defeat of an invading Ceylonese army which was desolating the Pāṇḍya country. For this act by which the grace of Śiva was attained, Śivācārya was granted a village, the income from which he distributed among his relations. According to Venkyya, this invasion took place in the 3rd quarter of the 12th century.

Saura images—Next to those of Viṣṇu, the images of the Sun-god are the most numerous in Bengal, but his worship is now dying out. He is generally represented with four hands, the upper two holding lotus stalks. He is dressed in *udīcya-veśa,* ie., northern dress. The upper half of the body is covered with a coat of mail and the lower

1. ASIR, 1921-22, p. 87 2. SII., Pt. I, p. 105

3. Nilakantha Sastri, The Colas, p. 254; an image of Gaṇeśa of the Pāla school has been found in a Tanjore temple, and it has been suggested that it was carried by the army of Rājendra Cola, JIH, 1934, 306-11

4. Rangachariar, Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, I, p. 388

half is clad in a short skirt tied by an ornamental belt with two daggers on two sides. His legs are covered with boots in accordance with the canonical injunction that they should not be shown bare in any case. This feature is characteristic also of his attendants. His two wives Uṣā and Pratyuṣā stand by his two sides and the third Mahāśvetā in front.[1] His male attendants are Daṇḍa and Piṅgala and his charioteer is half-bird Aruṇa. In some images the Ādityas, the seven Ṛṣis, seven Mātṛkās, the planets and the zodiac signs are represented.[2] The VRSM. has some unique varieties of Sūrya images. The VRSM, No. 693 is a two-handed Sūrya with a circular halo round his head and has been assigned to the late Gupta period.[3] The lower parts of his legs are not shown at all and are covered by the figure of Aruṇa. The only other image[4] of this type has been discovered at Khadi (Sunderbans). In this image the driving of the chariot by holding the reins of the horses is clearly exhibited and has made it more realistic. In these two specimens his three wives are conspicuous by their absence. The VRSM. has acquired a six-handed Sūrya from Mahendra, Dinajpur.[5] The two uppermost hands hold lotus stalks, the intermediate hands have *Akṣamālā* and *Varada-mudrā* and the remaining two have a *Kamaṇḍalu* and *Varada-mudrā*. It has been suggested that it represents the first of the twelve Ādityas, as described in the *Viśvakarmā-śāstra*.[6] The only discrepancy is that it prescribes four hands and the two hands showing *Varada* and *Abhaya* mudrās were not perhaps considered essential in the canon. A ten-armed and three-faced (or four faced with the uncarved one at the back) Sūrya has been acquired from Manda, Rajshai. Its existing six hands hold Śakti, Triśūla and Khaṭvāṅga (right) and lotus,

1. According to some description his wives Sureṇu and Nikṣubhā are on two sides, and the other Uṣā in front

2. DMC, Nos. 3A (iii) a/2, 3 (iii) a/4, and pl. LX, illustrating Sūrya from Sonarang

3. VRSR, 1926-27, fig I, p. 8.

4. Ibid., 1928-29, fig 17.

5. Ibid., 1932-34, fig I.

6. JASB, 1932, pp. 191-93

Ḍamaru and Sarpa (left). The attributes show, as has been rightly observed, that it was composite image of Sūrya[1] and Bhairava, and it most probably represents Sūrya in his Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava form, as described in the *Sāradātilaka Tantra.*. But it is to be noted that this *Tantra* prescribes four heads and eight hands. Seated Sūrya images are rare. A metal specimen, dateable in the 7th or 8th century A.D., was found at Deulbadi.[2] A stone image of a seated Sūrya[3] has been discovered at Ekdala, Dinajpur, and the god looks like a *Dhyānī-mūrti.* The pose is unrealistic for one who is mounted on a moving chariot.

A few images of the hunting god Revanta, son of the Sun-god, are known. The VRSM. has two and the DM. has one only and another is at Sonapur, Dinajpur.[4] Navagrahas or nine planets were worshipped. They are the Ravi, Soma, Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu and Ketu. A fine specimen of a Navagraha slab has been discovered at Kankandighi in the Sunderbans.[5] The VRSM. has four slabs. It is to be noted that Gaṇeśa also appears in the company of nine planets.

Other gods and goddesses—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva constitute the Hindu Trinity. While Viṣṇu and Śiva each has such a large following, the god of creation does not claim the allegiance of many. Even his wife Sarasvatī has been afterwards appropriated by Viṣṇu. A fairly large number of images of Brahmā have been found in Bengal but it is to be noted that not a single specimen from eastern Bengal is known. The VRSM. has about ten images[6] but the best specimen[7] is in the VSPM. from Rajganj, Dinajpur.

1. IHQ., 1930, p. 465 ff.

2. DMC, LIX; For another seated Sūrya, see Birabhūma-Vivaraṇa, Vol. II, against 140.

3. JASB, 1932, pp. 147 ff.

4. Ibid, 1936, Pl. 2, fig. 4. The IM. possesses four from Bihar.

5. VRSR, 1928-29, fig 3.

6. Ibid., 1930-31, fig 5; 1928-29, fig. 5.

7. VSPC, Pl, VI.

A fair number of a species of bas-reliefs showing mainly the mother and the child have been found in northern Bengal. A controversy is raging about its identification. A lady is represented lying down on a couch in reclining position with her left elbow pressed against a pillow and supporting her head. A child is shown lying down close to the left side. A female shampoons her feet and other females attend her, ministering to her comforts. Gaṇeśa Kārikeya, *Liṅga* and Navagrahas are placed above the couch. According to Dr. N. K. Bhattasali,[1] their presence points to the Śaiva nature of the Mother and Child images and he proposes to identify the child with the Sadyajāta form of Śiva but admits that no appropiate Dhyāna can be cited. Mr. N. B. Sanyal[2] refers to the description of the birth of Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* in order to support the view that the Mother and Child images represent that scene. According to him, "the Navagrahas indicate the benign influence of the planets on the newly born baby. *Liṅga* (signifying Śiva) is connected with the birth of Kṛṣṇa, as he (Śiva) is said to have addressed a hymn to Kṛṣṇa when in his mother's womb. The presence of Gaṇeśa means allaying of all troubles".

The worship of the snake goddess Manasā is very popular in Bengal and her images are common. She seems to have overshadowed Sarasvatī and the Buddhist Jāṅgulī who are also destroyers of the snake-poison, so far as that aspect of these two goddesses is concerned.[3] The IM. No. 3950 shows a goddess under a hood of seven serpents with the book and pitcher in her left hands and with the rosary and boon in the right. The goddess Manasā seems to be an importation from southern India and has not been included definitely in any pantheon, Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva. Generaly Manasā is represented with two hands, seated on a lotus under a seven-hooded snake canopy with a snake in her hand. A pitcher is seen underneath her seat on the pedestal. In a *stotra*[4] she is conceived as the spiritual daughter of

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1. DMC, pp. 134 ff.

2. VRSR, 1928-29, pp. 1[illegible] ff; Transactions and Proceedings of the seventh Oriental Conference, p. 7[illegible].

3. The section on Manasā by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali in DMC, is very informative on this point. I think his conclusions are worth accepting.

4. Ibid.

Śiva and in a VRSM. specimen the *Liṅga* appears on the top of the halo[1] The Rangpur Sahitya Parisat collection has a four-handed Manasā with a child on her lap and another specimen of a miniature Manasā has been discovered at Paharpur.[2] Another metal specimen of a Manasā image with a child on her lap has been recently added to the IM. from northern Bengal.[3]

Images of Indra, Agni and Yama have been found in the old Paharpur temples as guardians of quarters. The VRSM. has two images of Yama with the buffalo as his *Vāhana* and has also an image of Agni with the goat as his vehicle. As in the Paharpur specimen[4] of Agni flames are shooting out from his person. An image of Kuvera has been found at Chatrabhog, Sunderbans.[5] Separate images of Nāga and Nāginīs are rare in Bengal, although some specimens[6] of their representations in the IM. come from Bihar. An image of Kāma has been recently added to the IM. from northern Bengal.[7] In the Varāha image[8] in VRSM. from Silimpur the lower parts of the Nāgas and Nāginīs are gracefully intertwined. In the Manasā image[9] from Silghat we find Nāgas and Nāginīs hanging on two sides of the goddess, thus making a suitable back-ground for the snake goddess, the daughter of the Nāgas.

The above account does not exhaust the images of the Brahmanical gods and goddesses and many of them (specially in the VRSM.)[10] remain unidentified. The current dictum that the Hindus

1. ASIR, 1921-22, p. 112.
2. VRS, Monograph, No. p. 30. For a Dhyāna of four-handed Manasa as Madonna, see DMC, p. 227.
3. ARIR, 1934-35, Pl. XXVb.
4. Ibid., 1926-27, Pl. XXXIId.
5. VRSR, No. 4, fig. 11.
6. The IM has four of them.
7. ASIR, 1934-35, p. 79.
8. VRSR, 1930-31, fig. 3.
9. DMC., Pl, LXXIII.
10. VRSC, pp. 31-33 ; JASB, 1936, Pl, III, fig. 6 ; See the broken image illustrated in Birabhūma-Vivaraṇa, Vol. I, against p. 140.

have thirty-three crores of gods and goddesses may not be actually true but it goes to indicate the richness of their pantheon.

The majority of the sculptures discovered in Bengal belong to the period between the 10th and 12th centuries A.D. Only four Buddhist images[1] can be somewhat confidently assigned to the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. Besides the Paharpur finds, we have noticed a comparatively large number of the Brahmanical images of this period. Very few images of Bengal can be definitely assigned to the 8th and 9th centuries.[2] From the 10th century onward the Brahmanical images far excel in number those of the Buddhists, and of them the images of Viṣṇu and Sūrya predominate. Śaivas and Śāktas worshipped a large number of gods and goddesses, and if none of them singly did command so great and wide popularity like Viṣṇu and Sūrya, their combined strength indicates that they had a great following and were as important in influence as the Vaiṣṇavas and Sauras. It was in this period that we meet gross Tantrik images, and both Buddhist and Brahmanical gods were represented with their respective Śaktis in different poses. The Hindus did not go to excess like the later Buddhists by repesenting their gods and goddesses in *Yab-Yum*.

Relation between different religions and sects—A study of the inscriptions and images reveals some interesting facts on this topic.

1. Buddha from Biharail, Mañjuśrī and Bodhisattva from Mahasthan and Tārā from Sukhavaspur (in DM.). For references see supra.

2. R. D. Banerjee, "observed in this period there is a great paucity of Brahmanical or Hindu images in south Bihar as well as northern and western Bengal, but such is not the case in eastern Bengal The collection in DM. is specially rich in Brahmanical images of the 9th and 10th centuries and at the same time, it must be admitted that as none of them is inscribed, their attribution is open to doubt." His view was based on the date of the Khaḍgas who, according to him, flourished in the 9th and 10th centuries. This can no longer be maintained and consequently the Śarvāṇī and Sūrya images from Deulbadi of the time of Prabhāvatī cannot be assigned to the 9th century. we do not find any image in the DM. which can be assigned definitely to that period. But it is to be admitted that many Buddhist images of Bihar belonged to this period. (ESMS, pp. 1[illegible]-24)

The Chittagong plate of Kāntideva offers an instance of the fact that different members of a family followed different religions according to their personal predilections. Bhadradatta, grandfather of Kāntideva, was a Buddhist. His father Dhanadatta was proficient in the Purāṇic literature and his mother was a devotee of Śiva, but he himself was a Buddhist. The Pālas were Buddhists and their seals show *Dharmacakra* (Buddhist wheel of law). It is stated in the Badal pillar inscription that the king Śūrapāla I attended the religious ceremonies of his Brahmanical minister Kedāramiśra and accepted holy sacrificial water with great respect. Mention may be made of the grant of land by Nārāyaṇapāla for providing couches and seats, medicines for the sick to the congregation of Pāśupata teachers at Kalosapota within the *viṣaya* of Kakṣa in *Tīra-bhukti (Tirhut)*. He is said to have built hundreds of temples for the Śaiva ascetics. That he had great devotion for Śiva is also proved by the fact that the land donated by the Bhagalpur plate was done in the name of Śiva (Śiva-bhaṭṭāraka), while all other Pāla kings made their grants in the name of Lord Buddha. Madanapāla granted land to a Brahmana in reward for his teaching the *Mahābhārata* to his chief queen Citramatikādevī like the Hindu custom of paying *dakṣiṇā*. It appears that the Buddhist king Śrīcandra, like the Pālas, took part in the Brahmanical ceremony. The Rampal plate of this king was granted in favour of a Śāntivārika (i.e., the priest in charge of propitiatory ceremonies) and his Dhulla grant was issued on the occasion of the performance of a certain propitiatory rite, called *Adhuta-śānti*, during the *Homacatuṣṭaya*. The seal of the Irda plate of the Kamboja king Nayapāladeva shows *Dharmacakra* device like that of the Pālas, but the record opens with an invocation to Śiva. Rājyapāla, the first known member of the family, was a *Saugata* (*Buddhist*). His son Nārāyaṇapāla was a devotee of Vāsudeva and his other son Nayapāla was a Śaiva. From these instances of the different royal families it seems that the line of demarcation between a Buddhist and a Hindu was not very wide. Different members of a family could pay their homage to different gods according to their personal likings without affecting their normal relationship.

There are instances of borrowing and incorporating some gods and goddesses from one pantheon to another. It is admitted that the Buddhists borrowed Sarasvatī and Vighnanāṭaka from the Hindus.

Cáracikā and Mahākāla are common to both. The representations of Yogāsana Viṣṇu and Dhyānī Śiva seem to have been modelled after Dhyānī Buddha. Appearance of small figures of gods on the top of Brahmanical images[1] reminds us of the presence of parental Dhyānī Buddhas. Buddha was regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu[2] perhaps at a time when Hinduism had begun to absorb Buddhism, because the importance and popularity of so great a figure could not be neglected. It was positively advantageous to do so in order to gain the support and following of the faltering ones or of those who had no definite and clear-cut religious convictions. It is now admitted that the Hindus have borrowed Tārā from the Buddhists. In the *Rudrayamāla* and *Brahmayamāla* Vaśiṣṭha has been asked to go to learn the secrets of Tārā worship from Buddha in Cīnabhūmi where he has been residing.[3]

Sometimes peculiar images are discovered, and it is diffiult to ascertain whether they are Buddhist or Brahmanical. An image[4] with a four-handed standing figure (looking like Viṣṇu) has been discovered in northern Bengal. Two main male attendants stand on two sides, and two small figures stand close to them. On the top of the main figure is a small figure (looking like a parental Dhyānī Buddha) and on the pedestal there is a small six-handed dancing figure. The attributes in the four hands of the principal figure appear to be Gadā, Padma, Śaṅkha and Cakra but it is to be admitted that these attributes differ from the representation in an ordinary Viṣṇu image. Mr. N. G. Majumdar[5] suggests that these images may represent the conception

1. See Viṣṇu from Lakṣmaṇkati, Ugratārā from Sikarpur and Gauri at Mahesvarapasa, Khulna (ESMS, Pl. LVIIc).

2. .R D. Banerjee refers to a slab of ten Avatāras at Bodh-Gaya where the figure of Buddha is defaced. According to him, this was intentional and was due to sectarian jealousy. But this may be accidental too (ESMS, p. 108)

3. For full discussion, see Sādhanamālā, Intro. pp. CXXXVII ff; Memoirs, ASI, No. 11; DMC, p. 204.

4. VRSR, 1928-29, p. 28 f; Modern Review, 1929, February Issue, This image is from Kalandarpur, Bogra.

5. Ibid.,

of Hindu Trinity, the seated figure at the top being Brahmā and the dancing figure representing Naṭarāja Śiva. Again, it has been contended that the god without his Vāhana Garuḍa and without Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī and with the figure of Amitābha on the top should be regarded as a form of Mañjuśrī.[1] Two almost similar images have been found in northern Bengal[2] with the only difference that the god stands under a seven-hooded snake canopy, which, it has been observed, "probably shows that Viṣṇu is conceived here as Ananta, or the Eternal, the hoods of snake Ananta being utilised to give an idea of eternity". Four images illustrated from different parts of Bengal by R. D. Banerjee[3] are regarded as the blending of Avalokiteśvara and Viṣṇu Three of them have a hooded canopy on the head of the god and on two of them we find a seated figure on the top. The upper parts of the other two are broken and most probably they had also the small seated figure on the top. It is difficult to say what particular deity these images represent, as we have no *Dhyāna* to prove their identity. Two other images[4] from Sagardighi, Murshidabad, look like Viṣṇu or Avalokiteśvara and in them the attendants of Viṣṇu are absent. The attributes in hands are not also clear. One represents a standing figure and the other a seated one and both of them have four hands. Whatever god or gods all these images may represent, the predominant Vaiṣṇava element is evident.

In Java there was a Śiva-Buddha cult in which Buddha was completely identified with Śiva.[5] No definite evidence of the existence of such a cult is known. But it may be noted that at present images of Buddha and Tārā are worshipped as Śiva and Durgā by ignorant village-folk.[6] It is now accepted by many that in many of the later Tantras there has been an admixture of Hindu and Buddhistic doc-

1. VRS, Monograph, No. 4, 11 ff.
2. VRSR, 1932-34, fig 4 ; JASB, 1982, Pl. IX, fig. 1.
3. ESMS, Pl. XXVIII. pp. 184, 124. Three of them are twelve-handed and the specimen in metal has six hands. See also Ibid, pp. 95-96.
4. BI. Pls, XXVI, XXVII.
5. IC, I, p. 284.
6. ESMS, p. 46 ; Birbhūma-Vivaraṇa, p. 138,

trines, and it may be noted that the Hindu Tantras are in dialogue forms between Śiva and Pārvatī. The Śaivite Matsyendranātha and Gorakṣanātha were respected by the Buddhist Sahajayānists.

This shows one side of the picture only. There were enthusiasts in every religion to champion and fight for their own. The Chinese tarvellers record many incidents[1] which go to show that there were debates by important personages of different religions, each trying to uphold their own doctrines and tenets and decrying those of the opposite school. Defeat sometimes meant humiliation and conversion to the victor's side. The Bhuvanesvara *praśasti* alludes to the fact that the scholar-minister Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva was a great enemy of the Buddhists.[2] Saroha-vajra, a follower of Sahaja-yāna, attacks other systems vehemently and glorifies the efficacy of his own.[3] He shows the inherent inconsistency of the caste system, challenges the authority of the Vedas and criticises the conduct of the ascetics who covered their bodies with ashes. He argues if the nudity of the Jainas is capable of leading to the desired goal, the jackals and dogs would easily attain *siddhi*. In his opinion the great *Śramaṇas* with a large number of disciples earn their livelihood by deceiving the people and the Mahāyānists attempt to explain the *Sūtras* without grasping their meaning. Finally he exalts *Sahajayāna*, the best of all paths and the only surest guarantee to salvation.

There is one aspect in the representation of the Buddhist dieties which has not attracted sufficient attention that it deserves.[4] The desire to prove the superiority of their own gods by humbling those of the Hindus is evident in some of the *Sādhanās*. Harihariharі-

1. See the accounts of the lives of Yuan Chwang, Silabhadra, and Karṇasuvarṇa specially. The History of Indian Logic shows how the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas tried to disprove the arguments and reasonings of one another.

2. IB, Bhuvanesvara praśasti, Vs. 20.

3. Intro. Baudha-Gāna-O-Dohā, pp. 6-8.

4. Our thanks are again due to Dr. B. Bhattacharyya who for the first time emphasised this point. I. Bd. Icon., p. 162, Intro. Sādhanamālā, pp. CXXX ff.

vāhanodbhava (a variety of benign Avalokiteśvara) is to be represented as riding on Nārāyaṇa on Garuḍa. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra are called the Māras[1] (wicked beings and hence enemies). Siddhidātā Gaṇeśa is often the target of attack and is trampled upon by many gods and goddesses like Aparājitā, Parṇaśavarī and Mahāpratisarā. Śiva is trampled by Daśabhujā Mārīcī, and Śiva and Gaurī by Trailokyavijayā. Indra who holds the parasol of Aparājitā is trampled on by Aṣṭabhujā Mārīcī, Paramaśva and Prasanna Tārā and pays homage to Ubhayavarāhānanā Mārīcī. Indrāṇī is also mishandled by Paramaśva. The severed head of Brahmā is carried by Prasanna Tārā and Ubhayavarāhānanā Mārīcī. Such humiliating position of the Hindu deities served well the purpose of showing the powerfulness of the Buddhist gods and goddesses to the people at large. The Sunya-purāṇa, admittedly of Buddhist origin but of uncertain date,[2] gives vent to its wrath against the Hindus when Gaṇeśa is identified with Kazi, Brahmā with Muhammad, Viṣṇu with Payagambar, Śiva with Adam, Nārada with a Sheik and Indra with a Maulanā.

The question has been raised: Does the presence of the Hindu deities Śiva, Viṣṇu, Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa and Manaśā in Nālandā (we may add Bodh-Gaya and the Somapurī-Vihāra at Paharpur) testify to the catholicism and eclecticism of the Buddhists and the assertion of Hinduism over Buddhism? Mr. Sankalia[3] suggests that the desire of the Buddhist to manifest the deity in various modes and forms as found in Vaisnavism and Śaivism and then to show the superiority of their own gods by humbling them was not perhaps absent. If the Hindu gods could have been regarded as manifestations of Buddhistic deities, it is to be admitted that the line of demarcation was also becoming thinner. With the destruction by the Muslims of the monasteries the chief centres of Buddhistic influence and activities

1. See the sādhanās of Prasanna-Tārā, Vajrajjvālānalarka, Vidyujjvālākarālī.

2. It seems to have been composed after the advent of the Muslims, as the subject matter and developed Bengali forms of the book show. Edited by C. Bandyopadhyaya, pp. 232 ff.

3. University of Nālandā, p. 139.

were almost extinct, and it is an admitted fact that the Buddhists did not claim so much loyalty and discipline from their lay followers as the Brahmanical religion did. Those who could put a fight with the Hindus became scattered. Their strength was broken and resisting power gone. As the Hindu gods had already begun to satisfy them, there was no great difficulty in merging them in the Hindu society, as the history and fate of Buddhism in India show. Therefore the presence of Hindu gods in the Buddhist strongholds may be taken as the sign of the growing popularity, if not of assertion and encroachment, of Hinduism upon Buddhism.

The relation between different sects of Hinduism is not much known. Most probably the combined images of Brahmā-Viṣṇu[1] and Harihara[2] indicate the attempt to show the harmony and amity between the three principal gods constituting the Hindu Trinity[3]. To a Hindu gods are after all gods and inspite of sectarian differences all gods are to be worshipped and respected, to whatever class they may belong. In the Pāla and Sena periods we have already noted the preponderance of Viṣṇu images which tends to show the popularity of his cult also. In the Tippera grant of Lokanātha ((7th century) Nārāyaṇa is adored by the chief gods, the Asuras, the Sun, the Moon, Kuvera, Kinnarīs, Vidyādharas, chief serpent gods, Gandharvas, Varuṇa, the Yakṣas and also by the Brahmanas. The presence of the images of Viṣṇu at Unakoṭi and Deopara, two important centres of Śaivism, certainly testifies to its popularity, if not something more. Śiva is regarded now as a devotee of Viṣṇu, so much so that in Bhuvanesvara Śiva in the Lingarāja temple is not worshipped until the worship of Viṣṇu has been finished in the adjacent Ananta-Vāsudeva temple and Śiva has no separate culinary department and he gets *prasāda* from Viṣṇu.[4] Lakṣmaṇasena was a Vaiṣṇava and his ins-

1. ASIR, 1934-35, pp 79 80.
2. Ibid, 1929-30. Pl. XXVIc.
3. It is rather surprising that R. D. Banerjee finds in them difference of opinions between different sects, ESMS, p. 105.
4. We enquired of a Pāṇḍā in charge of a temple how long since this has been the custom. He told me from the beginning of the creation when these two temples were built by Viśvakarmā. The Linga-rāja and Ananta-Vāsudeva temples are not far removed in dates.

criptions open with an invocation to Nārāyaṇa. But the seal attached to them bears the figure of Sadāśiva. Vaiṣṇava influence was felt on the *Tantras* also, which are sometimes referred to as *Agamas* and *Nigamas*. "An Āgama is so called because it proceeds from the mouth of Śambhu (Śiva) and goes to Girijā (Pārvatī), being approved by Viṣṇu, and a *Nigama* is so called because it is emanated from the mouth of Girijā to enter the ear of Girīśa (Śiva), being approved by Vāsudeva."[1]

In the Ṛg Vedic literature Sūrya occupies a more prominent position than Viṣṇu. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* Viṣṇu is one of the twelve Ādityas. But afterwards Viṣṇu superseded Sūrya in importance. The large number of Surya images discovered in Bengal is indicative of the popularity of the Saura cult but his worship has now-a-days almost fallen into disuse.[2] Iconographically the representation of a standing four-handed Sūrya on a lotus seat with two wives on two sides and with the charioteer Aruṇa closely resembles that of an ordinary Viṣṇu in the company of Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī with his vāhana Garuḍa. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala may be compared with Jaya and Vijaya. Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena styled themselves *paramasaura* i.e. devout worshippers of the Sun. But their records open with an invocation to Nārāyaṇa. Vijayasena and Vallālasena were Śaivas, Lakṣmaṇasena a Vaiṣṇava, and Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena Sauras. But the seals of their inscriptions invariably bear the figure of Sadāśiva. This is perhaps an indication of the fact that sectarianism was not carried too far, and that gods of other sects who did not command special reverence from one particular individual were not disrespected, if not actually worshipped.

1. Intro. the Principles of Tantras, XXI, fn.
2. SPP, 1340 B. S., p. 1.
3. B. Bhattacharyya, Indian Images, p. 18 for further elucidation of this point.

CHAPTER XII

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Very few images of Paharpur finds of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods have been illustrated. The illustrated images show soft, fine and lively modelling and easy flow of lines that are characterics of Gupta art. It has been said that Paharpur images "combine in them the broad intellectualism of the Gupta epoch with the emotionalism of Bengal", but it must be observed that they appear to be of inferior workmanship in suggestiveness and refined dignity to the famous panels of the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogadh, Jhansi. The standing Buddha image from Biharoil, Rajshahi,[1] in Cunar sandstone has the common characteristics of a Sarnath Buddha with its diaphanous robe, curly hair, and had not the find-spot been known, it could have easily passed for a Sarnath image. The copper image of Viṣṇu from Kumarpur, Rajshahi,[2] is a crude product and has no artistic pretension. Mahiṣamardinī[3] from Gangarampur, Malda, has an inscription in the seventh century script and is in gray sandstone. It has the majesty and grandeur of the Śaiva panels of Elephanta. Sūrya[4] in black stone from Deora, Mañjuśrī[5] in bronze from Mahasthan, Viṣṇu at Rangpur[6] and at Lakṣmankathi are assignable to the late Gupta period and exhibit quiet, restrained dignity and calm conviction in which, to use Coomaraswamy's words, "the inner and outer life are indivisible." Viṣṇu[8] from Deora (the same find-spot as that of the Sūrya image) is perhaps not earlier than the Baghaura Viṣṇu image of the 3rd year

1. ESMS, Pl. XIXa.
2. Ibid., Pl. LXVIIIa.
3. VRSR, 1931-32, Pl. I,
4. Ibid, 1926-27, fig. 1.
5. Ibid., fig. 2.
6. VRSR, monograph, No 4 ; Rangpur Sahitya Parisad Collection.
7. DMC, Pl. XXXII.
8 ESMS, Pl. XLIVb,

of Mahīpāla I[1] but is the product of Gupta artistic tradition and legacy. Amongst numerous Viṣṇu images of the Pāla period it stands apart in elegance and meditative calm. The position of Garuḍa suggests that a celestial being has condescended to climb down for a purpose and his stay will not be very long, as the bird is trying to rise up with his Lord.

It is now an admitted fact that a new school of art flourished in Bengal and Bihar simultaneously with the establishment of the Pāla power. Tārānātha records,[2] "In the time of kings Devapāla and and Dharmapāla there lived in Varendra an especially gifted artist, named Dhīmān; his son was Bītapāla; both produced many works in cast metal, as well as sculptures and paintings which resembled the works of the Nāgas. The father and the son gave rise to two distinct schools; as the son lived in Bengal, the cast images of gods produced by their followers were called gods of the Eastern style, whatever might have been the birth-place of their actual designers. In painting the followers of the father were called the Eastern school, those of the son, as they were most numerous in Magadha, were called followers of the Madhyadeśa school of painting." We are not concerned with the Madhyadeśa school of painting, the existence of which yet remains to be established. Numerous stone images, bronzes and a few miniatures from Bihar and Bengal go to show the existence of the eastern school of Tārānātha. As its rise synchronises with that of the Pāla power and its main activity was within the Pāla kingdom, it should be properly designated as the Pāla school.[3] In the Sena period too this school continued its activity and does not show any separate and distinctive artistic development. Products of this school have been found in Gorakhpur, Gonda and Basti districts of the United Pro-

1. DMC, Pl. XXXa.

2. IA, IV, p. 102.

3. Coomaraswamy also calls it Pāla school, see History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 118; R. P. Chanda calls it Pāla or Gauḍian school, Medieval Sculptures in the British Museum, p. 48; R. D. Banerjee calls it "Eastern school of Medieval Sculptures".

vinces.[1] Art of Konârak and Khiching, Mayurbhanj,[2] both in Orissa, was influenced by this school, but Assam seems to have stood outside its influence. The art of Nepal and Tibet is regarded as direct continuation of the Pâla school. Its deep influence on some images at Pagan[3] and on Java bronzes[4] has been established beyond doubt. All these go to strengthen the opinion of M. R. Grousset that this school had an influence not inferior to that of the art of Gândhâra and the Gupta Empire.

Every image of the Pâla period is an interesting study by itself and full justice cannot be done to the subject in a work like this. A great majority of the images are in relief, but the tendency to carve in the round is noticeable when the main figure is separated from the back slab. Pâla art is to be understood in terms of its inheritance and in relation to its environments. Its clear delineation and definition of the features and decorated nimbus can be traced to Gupta art and so also the diaphanous robe of many bronzes. The curly hair, presence of *ūrṇā* and drapery of Buddha images are reminiscent of the Gandharan school as modified by the subsequent schools of Mathura and Sarnath. As in literature, language and religion, so also in art elaboration and ornamentation of old ideas, conceptions and techniques were due to the spirit of the age. In the absence of any inscription it is the richness of ornaments of the deities and the exuberance of decorations on the back slab that help us to determine the comparative date of an image, though it must be admitted that to fix it by the so-called style is always hazardous. The round top and the plainness of the back slab are generally the characteristics of an early Pāla image. But gradually the slab becomes pointed at the top and decorative devices and designs increase lavishly and profusely, which are finally conventionalized. In an ordinary Viṣṇu or Sûrya image we find leographs, scrolls, flying *gandharvas, kinnaras* and *kinnarīs,* swans, cloud-motives

1. ASIR, 1906-7, pp. 193-207.
2. ASIR, 1923-24, pl. XXXIV ; 1924-25, Pl. XXV
3. Ibid., 1922-23, Pl. XXXIII ; N. Roy, Brahmanical gods in Burma, pp. 80-91.
4. Kempers, the Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu Javanese Art, pp. 70 ff.

and feather-arabesques. Sometimes the *Vāhanas* and attendant figures are represented as part of decorations (*Haṁsa* in the Sarasvatī of the DM, the bull in the IM. Śiva[1] and the plumage of the peacock of the pleasing and graceful image of Kārtikeya[2] in the IM). In the remarkable image of Ṛṣabhanātha from Surhor the representation of each of the other 23 *tīrthaṅkaras* in a separate temple appears to be a decorative device rather than due to iconographic prescription. The snake in the hands of Naṭarāja Śiva or in one hand of seated Manasā serves both the purposes quite well. The ugly *Kīrtimukha* on the top was perhaps to express more effectively the beauty of the deity beneath it by producing a striking contrast. The æsthetic excellence of Pāla art lies in the combination of its wealth and exuberance of decorative designs with the translation of the inner state of mind of the deity. When worked out by a master hand symmetrically and proportionately, the decorative designs lend an added grandeur and beauty to the whole piece.

Pāla art is emphatically convincing and definite in its purpose. It is a plastic commentary on the *Śilpaśāstras*. What the *Sādhaka* conceived in his inspired moment in *Dhyānas* the artist gave expression to by his chisel, but to do it in numerous shapes and forms with the growth of variegated religious and spiritual experiences is the supreme achievement of the Pāla artists. It is doubtful whether so many *mudrās, āsanas,* poses and postures and attributes can be found in any other Indian school. Every one of them is full of deep meaning and special significance, and when rightly interpreted, they make Pāla art most expressive and suggestive. The Pāla artists could well produce the conception of a Madonna, an ineffable smile, benignity, grace, loveliness, serenity, juvenileness, horror, terror and wrath and almost every sentiment, as the subject matter demanded, and of them *sānta* and *sundara* types predominate. The definition of masculinity and femininity was well understood. The image of Ardhanārīśvara (half-man and half-woman) in round illustrates a clear conception of the physiognomy of the two sexes. In spite of multiplicity of hands in many images the figures are generally organic, and when in fighting atti-

1. ASIR, 1930-34, pl. CXXXIIId.
2. Ibid., pl. XXIVd.

tude, the whole energy is concentrated in two normal hands. The artists had to perform a difficult task when in different faces of the gods or goddesses (Mārīcī, Parṇaśarvarī, etc.) they had to produce different sentiments. Those who have intimate knowledge of the Pāla sculptures will perhaps admit that the sculptors acquitted themselves creditably. The attendant figures are represented in keeping with the mood of the main figure. A squatting and emaciated figurine with its bones and veins vividly shown offers an appropriate setting for Cāmuṇḍā. The bull dances in ecstasy of joy with Naṭarāja and so also the mice with Gaṇeśa. Liveliness and vivacity that permeate the productions of this school are no less due to the minute carving, high polish and oily finish which are possible because of the non-crystalline grains of the black basalt, the most commonly used material, and even stone sculptures approximate to metal specimens in fine workmanship.

The only specimen of rock-cut carvings found in Bengal are at Ūṇakoṭi, Hill Tippera. Mr. K. N. Dikshit, who examined them *in situ*, observes, "the style betrays a rudimentary and crude conception of the sculptor's art and illustrates in a remarkable way the canons of of primitive art. The anatomical features of the different parts of the body are treated only in broadest aspects without any attempt to to harmonise them."

The large finds of bronzes at Nālandā,[1] Kurkihar,[2] Bihar and at Jehwari, Chittagong, and the actual remains of bronze-casting discovered at Nālandā[3] and Pāharpur show the high degree of excellence and wide currency of this art. The Indian name of the metal is *aṣṭadhatu* and from that point of view as well as from the chemical point of view the coining of the term *Octo-alloy* is happy and appro-

1. ASIR, 1930-35, pls. CXXXIV-CXI.

2. Amounting to 218, see Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh Oriental Conference, pp. 791 ff.

3. ASIR, 1930-34, pp. 130 ff.

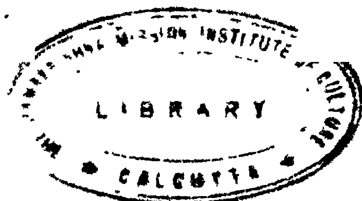
4. Ibid., p. 132.

priate[1] The bronze Mañjuśrī from Mahasthan and the Sarvāṇī image from Deulbadi were gold-plated, and a silver image of Viṣṇu of very fine workmanship[2] has been discovered at Curāin, Vikrampur, (now in the art-gallery of the IM.). Other important finds are Sūrya from Candimundu,[3] Lokanātha[4] from Sylhet, Piṇḍola from Sonarang,[5] a Buddhist goddess (Sitapātra Tārā ?) from Tippera,[6] Vajra Tārās (?) from Faridpur and Bhagalpur,[7] four Viṣṇu images from Rangpur[8] and four Viṣṇu or Avalokiteśvara images from Sagardighi, Murshidabad,[9] three miniature images from Comilla[10] and Manasā from Rajshahi in the IM.[11] This last one was set with precious stones. The *VRSC*. describes about eleven and so also the *VSPC*. and the *DMC*. supply the whereabouts of about a dozen more. The bronzes show finer workmanship than their stone prototypes and the figures appear more sensitive and sensuous.

Temples there were many in ancient Bengal and we have already referred to some for whose maintenance provisions were made by kings and other important personages. The finds of many images from certain localities of the Dacca, Tippera, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Bogra and Birbhum districts suggest that there had been temples in those sites. The discoveries of door lintels and jambs go sometimes to confirm it. Plinths and walls of many temples have been exposed by the Archæological Department. The recent excavation at Vaigram, Dinajpur, has perhaps laid bare the remains of the temple built by Śivanandin, which has been mentioned in the Vaigram plate of 128 G. E. All that can be surmised is that it had a *garbhagṛha*, a

1. DMC., Intro, p. XX.
2. Ibid., pl. XXIX
3. Idid pl. KIX
4. Ibid., pl. IV
5. Ibid., IA (V) a/1
6. Ibid., IB (IV) a/1.
7. Ibid., pls. XV, XVI, XVII.
8. ASIR. 1911-12, pp. 104 ff.
9. ESMS. pls. LXVIII, LXXIVa.
10. Rupám, 1928, p. 26.
11. ASIR. 1934-35, pl. XXIVb.

16



circumbulatory passage enclosed by a wall and on four sides there was an open terrace adjoining the wall.[1]

The most important and imposing structure hitherto unearthed is the temple of Paharpur, Rajshahi. It is described thus by its principal excavator, Mr. K. N. Dikshit,[2] "The temple is one of the most extensive buildings of antiquity ever unearthed in India, its length from north to suth being 356′ 6′′ and its breadth from east to west being 314′ 3′′. The ground plan consists of a colossal square cross with projecting angles in each corner, the number of such projections being four each in the north-east and north-west sectors and three each in the remaining two. The upper terraces were apparently reached by a stair-case on the north, opposite which was the quadrangular enclosure. The temple rose in three terraces above the basement in the first and second terraces. The plan of each terrace was more or less parallel to the ground plan, but the number of recessed angles between the arms of the cross naturally grew smaller at each higher terrace. The first and second terraces have each a spacious verandah or circumbulatory passage for worshippers, walking round the main shrine. At the second terrace level there are halls or *maṇḍapas*, with stone pillars and antechambers behind them at each of the cardinal points. The main shrine at the summit was probably a square chamber with a verandah all round.

"The most striking feature of the monument is the scheme of decoration of the walls of the basement and those flanking the circumbulatory passages. The walls are of fine-jointed masonry of well-burnt brick in mud. The plainness of the surface is relieved at intervals by projecting cornices of ornamental brick, bands of terracotta panels and stone sculptures at the corners and in recessed niches in a lower part of the basement. The artistic level of the terracotta plaques and some sculptures leaves no doubt as to their age, which cannot be far removed from the best period of Gupta art and must be relegated approximately to the 5th and 6th centuries.

1. Ibid., p. 42.

2. ASIR, 1925-26, 1926-27, 1927.28, pp. 107-113, pp. 140-69 and pp. 101-111 respectively. Also ASIR, 1928-29, 1929-30 and 1930-34, pp. 96-99, pp. 96-99, pp. 138-142 and pp. 113-128 respectively.



"It is quite probable, as it has been suggested from the find of the Paharpur plate of 159 G.E.[1] recording grant of land to the Jaina *Vihāra* of Vaṭa-Gohāli, that the temple was originally associated with Jainism and its shape may be traced to a Caturmukha Jaina temple with probably an antechamber on each side forming what may be called a *Sarvatobhadra* (equal on all sides) temple.[2] It seems quite clear that both Buddhism and Brahmanism were amply represented in the scheme of reconstruction and decoration adopted in the fifth or sixth century, when the present outline of the monument must have come into existence. The reconstruction of the pillared halls on the second terrace, the repairs to some of the verandah walls and the provisions of cloisters for monks on a large scale, marked the establishment of the *vihāra*. There must have been at least 200 cells in the entire establishment, occupying a quadrangle of about 900 square and providing accommodation for about a thousand monks. No single monastery of such dimensions has yet come to light in India."

The temple unearthed at Satyapir Bhita to the east of the Main Temple of Paharpur has been identified with the one referred to in the Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra.[3] It had a sanctum, pillared hall, circumbulating passage and vestibule, surrounded by rows of votive *stūpas*. There were residential blocks for the monks to the south of the central temple.

Excavations of the mound at Bairagi Bhita, Mahasthan, have revealed the remains of temples of three distinctive periods, Gupta, early and late Pāla. At Govinda Bhita the remains of a huge temple have been unearthed and constructions of late Gupta and early Pāla periods are discernible.[2] At Medh or Lakhindarer Medh, about a mile to the south of Mahasthangar, a group of small brick-built chambers, ranging themselves in parallel rows and rising in tiers or terraces, together with a huge and massive wall, have been unearthed. On the top of the mound a shrine, polygonal in plan, has

1. EI, XX, pp. 58 ff.
2. ASIR, 1927-28, pp. 38-39.
3. Ibid., 1930-34, pp. 122-26
4. Ibid, 1928-29, pp. 90 ff.

been found. The structure has been assigned on grounds of the style of the ornamental bricks to the late Gupta period.[1]

Traces of an ancient city have been found at Rangamati in the Murshidabad district, and the remains of a structure of different periods of constructions have been unearthed, of which the lowest was probably a Buddhist monument of the 6th-7th century A.D.[2]

Other noteworthy remains are of a stūpa-mound of the Gupta period at Bharat Bhayana[3] in the Khulna district and of a large temple measuring 195′ by 150′ with four gateways, a porch and *maṇḍapa* at Bairat in the Rangpur district. The shrine was provided with a beautiful black basalt pedestal with a spout.[4]

Most interesting are the temples at Dihar in the Bankura district, which have been assigned to the eleventh century A.D. They are built of conglomerate and are cruciform in shape. The *śikharas* are lost. "It seems that the lower parts were plastered and whitewashed. Over the plinth mouldings there is plain with the exception of the portion lying over the lintels of each opening. Above this portion begin the numerous cornices supported by elephant dwarfs, acting as brackets in different attitudes or brackets containing different animals."[5]

The extant stone temples at Barakar, (known as Begunia temples), at Chatna and at Harmashra, (Bankura) bear close similarity to the Jaina temple of Chotanagpur but do not seem to fall within our period and so also is the small stone temple at Gauri near Asansol.[6]

The extant examples of brick-built old temples are at Siddhesvari (Bahulara,) Bankura, Ichai Ghose's temple in Burdwan,[7] at Govinda-pur, Deulbari and Jatar Deul in 24-Parganas[8] and at Sat-Deul, Burdwan.[9] Their attribution to the Hindu period in the absence

1. Ibid., 1930,34, pp. 40-42.
2. Ibid., 1128-29, pp. 98 ff.
3. Ibid., 1921-22, p. 26.
4. Ibid., 1925-26, p. 113.
5. ESMS, p. 150
6. ASIR, 1922-23 pp. 110.111 ; ESMS, p. 150.
7. IMC, pl. XXXIIbc.
8. VRS, Monograph, No. 5, figs. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6.
9. ASIR, 1934-35, pl. XIXa.

of some positive data is questionable. Coomarswamy assigned the Bahulara temple to the 10th century,[1] but Mr. K. N. Dikshit[2] cautiously observes that "it is possible that the earlier (10th century) date is a century or two early, but there can be no doubt that these two examples (Bahulara and Jatar Deul) cannot be far removed in date from their stone prototype so well-known from the Bhuvanesvara style of architecture, the latest example of which is dated in the 12th century A.D." Their *śikharas* are slightly curvilinear, the *garbhagṛha* square in size and the entrance has a triangular corbelled arch over it. They seem to have been surmounted by *āmalakas*.

We are somewhat on surer grounds as regards the age of the temples represented on the images of the Pāla period. The most common is the *Bhadra* type of temples, the roofs of their receding terraces being surmounted by a dominating *śikhara*. The trifoil arch is supported by pillars.[3] The crowning *āmalaka* on the *śikhara* is very prominent in the image of Ṛṣabhanātha from Surhor.[4] It appears that this type was most popular in ancient Bengal. The miniature beautiful temple from Bangar (now in Maharaja's palace at Dinajpur)[5] deserves more than a passing notice. It shows the use of Caitya-windows on each facade which bears a niche, containing a figure of Buddha or Bodhisattva.

Stone pillars were extensively used in temples, the best examples of which are one from Sonarang[6] in the DM. and four from Pabna.[7] The old practice of erecting monumental columns as in the Maurya and Gupta periods was continued. Best examples are one from Rajmahal[8] (originally at Gauḍa), the Kamboja king's pillar from Bangar,[9] two inscribed pillars from Paikore,[10] Birbhum, Badal pillar of Gurava Miśra[11] and the pillar in the *Dhībar Dighee*[12] in

1. History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 108
2. ASIR, 1927-28, p. 41.
3. IMC/pl. LXXXI.
4. VRSR, 1232-34, pl, III.
5. ESMS, pl. LXXXVIc.
6. DMC, LXXVa.
7. Ibid., pp. 157-58, XCIVD.
8. Ibid., pls. LXXXIXa XCd.
9. Ibid., pl. LXXXIXc.
10. Ibid., pls. LXXXIXbc,
11. ASIR, 1927-28, p. 140.
12. Gauḍarajamālā, against p. 49,

Dinajpur associated with the name of the Kaivarta king Divya. The carvings on the first two are of exquisite workmanship and they perhaps belong to the tenth century A.D. The carvings on the two Palkore pillars are not of much artistic excellence. The finial on Vijayasena's pillar is a broken image of Manasā. The Śaiva pillars had bulls, while the Vaiṣṇava ones had Garuḍa. The Kaivarta king's pillar is almost equal in height to the highest Aśokan column and has not been examined with the care that it deserves.

A large number of terracottas have been found at Paharpur, Mahasthan, Rangamati and Sabhar (Dacca). They were generally used to embellish the exterior of the temples of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods in Bengal. Of the pre-Gupta finds mention may be made of a few at Tāmralipti,[1] one from Murshidabad in the VSPM,[2] and a few from Mahasthan.[3] Very few terracotta plaques of the Pāla period are known, while the Paharpur finds of the pre-Pāla period alone amount to about 3,000, of which about 1,800 are *in situ*. It has been remarked that if all of them are arranged in a line, they would cover a distance of about a mile. The subject-matters dealt with in the plaques are most varied and of absorbing interest.[4] Of gods we have representations of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Buddha and Avalokiteśvara; Vidyādharas, lion-faced, bird-winged men and men with short tails belong to the class of semi-human beings; various classes of men like soldiers, musicians, ascetics, amorous couples and others have been represented. The animal world is also well represented by elephants, deer, buffaloes, foxes, horses, tigers, dogs, cows, to mention a few only, and of the birds the common are parrots, peacocks, cocks and geese. More interesting are the representations of the stories from the *Pañcatantra* like *Vānara-kīlaka-kathā* and *Siṁha-śaśaka-kathā* and scenes depicting inborn animosity between mongoose

1. ASIR, 1921-22, pp. 7[illegible]-75.
2. SPP, 1342 B. S. pp. [illegible]09 ff.
3. ASIR, 19[illegible]0-34, p. 12[illegible].
4. All of them have not been described; a detailed monograph on Paharpur with the full description of the terracottas is a pressing necessity and will add much to our knowledge of the life of ancient Bengal.

and snake, the peacock devouring the snake, and of daily life and work. It has been rightly observed that "the delineation of homely subjects, everyday scenes of rural and out-of-door life must have made the artist in terracotta keen of observation and fully responsive to his environment. As a folk art of the soil to which it belongs the terracotta plaques of Bengal hold a very distinct and important position." Of other important specimens of potters' art found at Paharpur, mention may be made of several thousands of miniature votive *stūpas,* made of clay, and three remarkable pieces of glazed polychrome pottery with chocolate coloured and white floral ornament or white and green foliated leaves on a brown background.[1] At Medh ornamental bricks bearing floral patterns and a motif simulating the window have been found.[2]

Painting—Eight Mss. of the Pāla period, illustrated with miniatures, are known. They are—(1) Ms. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñā-pāramitā,* dated in the 15th year of Gopāla II and copied in the *Vikramaśīla*[4]*-deva-vihāra,*[3] (2) Ms. Add. 1464 of the same book in the Cambridge Library, dated in the 5th year of Mahīpāla I,[4] (3) Ms. of the same book copied in the 6th year of Mahīpāla in Nālandā,[5] (4) Ms. of the same book in the Ghose Collection, Calcutta,[6] probably of the 10th century, (5) Ms. Add. 1688 of the *Pañca-rakṣā* copied in the 14th year of Nayapāla (in the University Library of Cambridge),[7] (6) Ms. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* copied in the 39th year of Rāmapāla[8] in the collection of Vandenburg, (7) Ms. of the same book, copied probably in 1136 A.D.[9] in the Boston Museum

1. ASIR, 1930-34, p. 126, Pl. LIIIcd.
2. Ibid., pl. XVIII.
3. JRAS, 1910, pp. 150-41.
4. Bendall, CBMC, pp. 106-01.
5. Des. Cal. of Sans. mss. in Asiatic Society of Bengal, pp. 1-2.
6. Rupam, 1929, p. 78.
7. Bendall, Op. Cit., b. 100.
8. Rupam, No. 1, p. 9.
9. Intro. to Indian Art, p. 110; History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p 141.

and (8) damaged last leaf of a Ms. of the same book copied in the 18th year of Govindapāla.[1] Miniatures in a few Ms. copied in Nepal also show the same style of painting.[2] The miniatures are "not organically and decoratively associated with the script but they occupy spaces left by the scribe to be filled by the painter." "The technique is calligraphic. The draughtsmanship is unusually strong and having regard to the material–fragile and soft plam leaf–on which the drawing is made, the beauty of line and colour evokes our admiration."[3] The miniatures illustrate the divinities of Tantrika Buddhism. Figures are extremely sensuous and even the male figures have feminine grace.[4]

1. H.P. Shastri, Des. Cat. p. 6
2. Rupam, 1929, 78ff.
3. Ibid.
4. For some good illustration, see DMC, Pls, I, II,

APPENDIX G

COINAGE

The earliest known coins of Bengal are *gaṇḍaka* and *kākaṇika*[1] mentioned in the old Brāhmī inscription of Mahasthan. Many punch-marked coins have been discovered from different localities. The Tamluk High School preserves 350 coins of which the rectangular cast type predominates. The obverse of the rectangular cast coins shows Taurine, tree-in-railing and *caitya* with three windows, and the reverse shows square cross, elepahant, svastikā and triangular-headed symbol. The obverse of the round cast ones shows three arches with crescent, and the reverse, elephant.[2] Six rectangular copper coins have been found at Beracampa, 24-Parganas.[3] The DM. cabinet has recently acquired a large number of them from Bhairavbazar, Mymensingh, but they have not yet been classified. One silver punch-marked coin was discovered at Jakra,[4] 24-Parganas, and another at Tamluk.[5] Thirty-five silver coins have been found near Manda, Rajshahi and of them five are in the IM. cabinet.[6]

It seems that gold coin was current in the beginning of the Christian era. Alluding to the foreign trade of Bengal, the author of

1. There are differences of opinion regarding the weight of Kākaṇl. Prof. Bhandarkar is of opinion that half-Kākaṇl was equal to 1. 14 grains at the most (Carmaichael Lectures, 1921, p. 112), while Dr. S.N. Chakravarti holds that it was heavier than that (A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 112).

2. ASIR, 1921-22, pp. 74-74.

3. Ibid, 1922-23, p. 109

4. JASB, 1879, p. 245.

5. Ibid, 1882, p. 112

6. ASIR, 1930-34, pp. 255-56.

the *Periplus* says that there is a gold coin which is called Caltis.[1] About six gold coins of the Kushana kings, Kaṇiṣka, Vāsudeva I and Vāsudeva II have been discovered from Midnapore, Murshidabad and Bogra.[2]

A large number of Gupta gold coins have been found in almost every part of Bengal, and besides important recorded finds and collections, there are many private collections too. In 1783 a large hoard of about 200 gold coins were discovered at Kalighat and they were transmitted to the Directors of the East India Company. Unfortunately many of them were melted down. Only a few coins of Candragupta II, Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta II (?) and Viṣṇugupta are in the possession of the British Museum, Hunterian and Bodelian Collections.[3] In the same year 13 gold coins were found near Hooghly,[4] and they consisted of 1 Standard type of Samudragupta, 5 Archer type of Candragupta II, 3 Archer, 3 Horeseman, 1 Lion-slayer types of Kumāragupta I. The other notable finds are from Muhammadpur, Jessore,[5] and Mahanad, Hooghly.[6] At the last mentioned place one unique coin of Kumāragupta I of the Elephant-rider type has been found. R. D. Banerjee notices a number of coins of Candragupta II,[7] Kumāragupta I[8] and Skandagupta[9] from Burdwan, Midnapore, Hooghly and Faridpur. In all probability Gupta gold coins are *dinäras*, so often mentioned in the land-sale documents of the period, the word being derived from the Greek Denarius.

Silver and copper coins were also used in the Gupta period. R. D.

1. Benfy thought that it was derived from Sanskrit Kalita, meaning 'numbered'. Vincent Smith mentions one class of Bengal coins, called Kallais. Schoff is inclined to indentify it with Kallais of southern India. (Schoff, Periplus, p. 259). Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua observes that the Kalita merchants of Assam used the gold coins called Kaltis (Early History of Kāmarūpa, p. 189.)

2. BI, pp. 88-89 ; JASB, 1933, pp. 127ff.

3. Allan, Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynastica, Intro. p. cxxvi.

4. Ibid , p. cxxviii. 5. Ibid., p. cxxvii.

6. BI, pp. 67 ; ASIR, 1934-35, p. 48.

7. BI, pp. 59ff . 8. Ibid. pp. 65ff, 9. Ibid., pp. 71ff.

Banerjee[1] refers to two copper coins from Katwa, Burdwan, with the legend *samudra*. It is reported that silver coins of Candragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta were found at Muhammadpur, Jessore.[2] *Rūpakas* have been mentioned in the Vaigram plate of 128 G. E., from which it is known that three *kulyavāpas* and two *droṇas* of land were purchased by paying 6 *dināras* and eight *rūpakas* at the rate of two *dināras* per one *kulyavāpa*.. It is certain from the Paharpur plate that eight *dronas* were equal to one *kulyavāpa*. From this it has been concluded by Dr. R. G. Basak[3] that 16 *rūpakas* were equivalent to 1 *dināra*. But it is to be noted that in the Vaigram plate three *kulyavāpas* of *khila* (uncultivated) land were bought by paying 6 *dināras,* and two *droṇavāpas* of *vāstu* (homestead) land were bought for 8 *rūpakas*.. Prices of *khila* and *vāstu* lands might have varied and in that case the above ratio between *dināra* and *rūpaka* does not seem to be correct.

Gold coins were current in Bengal after the fall of the Imperial Guptas; the coins of Śaśāṅka and Jaya (nāga?) have been found not in inconsiderable number. Two coins of Samācā (radeva?) should also be taken into consideration. The unattributed 'Imitation Gupta' coins[4] from Muhammadpur, (Jessore), Kotalipara in Faridpur, Sabhar in Dacca and from Rangpur are crude in execution and have no pretension to artistic excellence. The legend on the reverse of four of them reads *Sudhanyāditya,* and the figure is that of a six-handed goddess.

It is strange that while coins of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods have been found in large numbers coins of Pāla and Sena periods are very rare. But it would be a mistake to conclude that there was no metalled currency in that period. The Bodh-Gaya stone inscription or Keśava *praśasti* records that Keśava excavated a tank at a cost of 3,000 *drammas*. *Dramma* is derived from the Greek word Drachma, and Prof. Bhandarkar[5] has shown that its weight approxi-

1. The Age of the Imperial Guptas, p. 214.
2. Allan, op. cit,, p. cxxvii,
3. EI, XXI, p. 78ff.
4. Allan, Op. Cip., p. 154 ; JASB, N. S., pp. 58-64.
5. Carmaichael Lectures, 1922, pp. 206-11.

mates to 65 grains of silver. Five copper coins have been found at Paharpur and they have been assigned to the early Pāla period and a silver coin (*dramma*) found there has been attributed to Vigrahapāla I.[1] Three silver coins of the Sassanian type with the legend *Śrī Vi* or *Vigraha* from Bihar have been attributed to Vigrahapāla III by V. A. Smith.[2] Twenty-five silver coins from eastern Magadha with the same legend and of the same type have been mentioned in the *Supplementary Catalogue*[3] of the IM. It is very curious that of all the Pāla kings the coins of the Vigrahapālas have come to light. In the grants of Lakṣmaṇasena,[4] Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena the income yielded by the donated land has been mentioned in terms of *purāṇas* and *kapardaka-purāṇas*, but we do not know any specimen of them. Prof. Bhaṇdarkar[5] suggests that "*kapardaka-purāṇa* is a *purāṇa* which is shaped like *kapardaka* or *kauri*." This is perhaps strengthened by the statement of Minhaj when he values the gifts and charities of Lakṣmaṇasena in terms of *kauris*.

1. ASIR, 1927-28, pp. 101ff.
2. Catalogue of the Coins in the Collection of the IM. 1, pp. 233, 239.
3. Pp. 56-57.
4. See Ch. on Administration.
5. Op. Cit., pp. 139-40,

APPENDIX H.

THE GAUḌAS AND GAUḌA

The division of the Brahmanas from broad geographical point of view into *Pañca-Gauḍa* and *Pañca-Drāviḍa* is well-known. The five Gaudas are the (1) *Sārasvatas*, (2) *Kānyakubjas*, (3) *Gauḍas* (4) *Utkalas* and (5) *Maithilas*. It is evident that they derive their names from the countries in which they settled and about the location of four (excepting the Gauḍas) there is no doubt whatsoever. There were more than one Gauḍa. Firstly, Gauḍadeśa meant north-western Bengal in ancient and mediæval times. It was by far the most famous of all the countries of that name. Secondly, it is known from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Vāyupurāṇa*[1] that there was a Gauḍa in Uttarakośala. It has been contended by Dr. R. G. Basak[2] from the passage, "*nirmitā yena Śrāvastī Gauḍadeśe dvijottamāḥ* (or *Mahāpurī*)" in the *Matsya, Kurma* and *Liṅga Purāṇas* that this Śrāvastī is to be located in Bengal. If we accept that there was a Gauḍa in Uttarakośala, which has been identified with the Gonda district and the neighbouring tracts, this Mahāpurī Śrāvastī may be identified with the famous city of Śrāvastī of the Buddhist literature or present Sahet-Mahet. In the *Sahyādri* section of the *Skandapurāṇa*, in which the division of the Brahmanas into *Pañca-Gauḍas* and *Pañca-Drāviḍas* has been mentioned, *Gauḍas* figure after *Sārasvatas* and *Kānyakubjas* and before *Utkalas* and *Maithilas*. It seems that they have been described in the geographical order from the west to the east, and if by the *Gauḍas* the Brahmanas of Bengal were meant, *Gauḍas* would have figured after the *Maithilas*. It is to be noticed that in the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*[3] of Varāhamihira the territory of Gauḍa is placed along with Matsya, Pāñcāla, etc. in the middle section of India.[3] Thirdly,

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1. EI. XIII, p. 200; the passages discussed by Dr. R. G. Basak in connection with the location of Śrāvastī of the Silimpur stone inscription.

2. Ibid.

3. XIV, 3.

there was a Gauḍa between Khandesa and Orissa, and Cunningham identified it with the districts of Betul, Chindwara, Seoni and Mandal.[1] The five Drāviḍas are the (1) *Mahārāṣṭras,* (2) *Tailaṅgas,* (3) *Drāvidas* or of the country of the Tamil language, (4) *Karṇāṭakas* and (5) *Gurjaras.* It is difficult to say when the Brahmaṇas came to be known by these names. Yuan Chwang speaks of Harṣavardhana as the *king of five Indies.* It cannot be precisely stated what the pilgrim meant by this expression, but from the extent of Harṣa's empire it does not seem improbable that it extended over five Gauḍas. It is stated in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that the Kāśmīra king Jayāpīḍa made his father-in-law Jayanta, king of Puṇḍravardhana, the emperor of *Pañca-Gauḍas.* The romantic element in the story of Jayāpīḍa's visit to Puṇḍravardhana has led many scholars to doubt the veracity of the whole episode, and no king of Puṇḍravardhana, ruling in the 8th century over such a vast kingdom, is known. In one southern Indian inscription the epithet *Pañca-Drāviḍeśvara* has been applied to Rājendra Cola.[2]

The *Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas* are scattered over different parts of India. Writing in 1887, Wilson notices 17 classes of them.[3] A careful search will reveal still great many other varieties. Among the *Kāyasthas* there is a section called *Gauḍa-Kāyastha* living near modern Delhi. Again, among the Rajputas there is one section called *Gauḍa-Rājaputas.* There is a separate caste called *Gauḍatagās* who claim their origin from *Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas.*[4] The distribution of *Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas* over almost all parts of India and the existence of *Gauḍa-Rājaputas, Gauḍa-Kāyasthas* and *Gauḍa-tagās* cannot be very easily explained.

1. Cunningham, ASIR IX, p. 150; see also VJI, I, in the Chapter on Panca-Gauḍa. Dr Roy Chowdhury is of opinion that Gauḍa in the Matsya, Kurma, Liṅga Mss. may be inserted as a Sanskritised form of Gonda. He cited the example of the Central Provinces where the name Gond is very often Sanskritised into Gauḍa (PHAI, p. 439) But Cunningham concluded just the opposite of it.

2. SII, I, p. 118.

3. Wilson, Indian Castes, Vol. II, p. 64-66.

4. See Viśvakoṣa on Gauḍa-Rājaputas, Gauḍa-Kāyasthas and Gauḍatagās.

By way of analogy an explanation can be suggested. The issues raised by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in his illuminating paper on the *Nāgara Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas of Bengal*[1] are various and many, but his conclusion that there was a tribe called *Nāgara* in ancient India which in course of time spread over different parts of the country is perhaps to be accepted. The same also seems to be the case with the *Gauḍas.* The Gauḍa tribe seems to have migrated to different parts and entered into the Rajput and Kāyastha societies. It may be noted that the *Āgarwalā Vaṇikas* utilise the services of the Gauḍa section of the Brahmanas and it may be that this mercantile community might have some remote connection with the *Gauḍas.*

It is not known where was the earliest home of the *Gauḍas.* The *Sārasvatas* called themselves *Ādi Gauḍas,* and it may be that their first settlement was in the region watered by the river Sarasvatī.[2] Again, Gauḍa in Uttarakośala might have been also the original land, because it seems that it has preserved the name of the tribe. There are epigraphic evidences to show that even in the historical period the Brahmanas from Uttara-kośala migrated to different provinces.[3] Therefore the claim of Gauḍa in Uttarakośala as the original home of the Gauḍa tribe cannot be brushed aside.

But of all the settlements of this tribe, Gauḍa in the east was undoubtedly the most famous and important. It was certainly an ancient country. Pāṇini associated it with the east.[4] It rose in great importance under Dharmapāla and Devapāla, and it is not unlikely that the title *Pañca-Gauḍeśvara* is "reminiscent to the Gauḍa empire under them because it cannot be equated with the ancient realm of Gauḍa kingdom in the early centuries of Christian era.[5]" With the great importance of the Gauḍa kingdom in mediæval India the title of *Gauḍeśvara* had some imperial glamour around it and it was difficult for the kings of Bengal to part with it when they had no authority

1. IA., 1932, pp. 41, 61.
2. For Ādi Gauḍas see Wilson, op. cit.
3. Vide Supra. Brahman Immigrations in Bengal.
4. VI, II, 99.
5. Dr. Roy Chowdhury, op. cit.

over Gauḍa. Keśavasena and Viśvarupasena, sons of Lakṣmaṇasena, ruled over eastern Bengal after the conquest of north-western Bengal by the Muslims but they retained the title of Gauḍeṣvara. Govindapâla is generally taken to be of the Pâla dynasty but it is doubtful whether he had had any authority over northern and western Bengal; yet the title *Gauḍeśvara* was applied to him. This proud title was assumed by the kings of Cuttack in the 16th century.[1] Like the story connected with the reported immigration of five Brahmanas at the instance of Âdiśûra, one tradition is current among the *Gauḍa Brâhmaṇas* and *Gauḍatagâs* of Delhi region that the services of their ancestors from Gauḍa in Bengal were in great demand by the epic king Janamejaya at the time of his snake sacrifice and hence their migration there. It is doubtful if Bengal itself was Brahmanised at the time of Janamejaya and therefore much weight cannot be attached to this story.

It may, then, be concluded that the Gauḍas were an important tribe in ancient times. They settled in different parts of the country and on account of their settlements many places were named after them. In the Brahman, Rajput, Kâyastha and Gauḍatagâ societies many men of this tribe had entered and formed separate sections in these castes. Of all the settlements of this tribe, Gauḍa in Bengal outshone all in view of its great importance under the Pâlas and many Gauḍas try to establish some connection with this famous country.[2]

1. IA, XLII, p. 49.

2. French says that there is strong and continuous tradition among the Panjab Hill tribes that the ruling families in certain states are descended from the Râjâs of Gauḍa in Bengal. These are Sukhet, Keonthal; Kastwar and Mandi. See Art of the Pâla Empire, p. 19; Journal of the Panjab Historical Society, Vols. III, IV, VI.

Early History of Bengal.

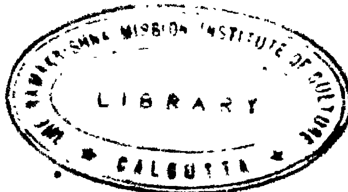
WORD INDEX, Vol. II

A

B

D

H



M

N

O

R

T

U

V

W